

Freedom Movement in Kashmir 1931-1940

G. H. KHAN



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*Dedicated
to the sacred memory
of my father
Abdul Kabir Khan*



CHIEF MINISTER
JAMMU AND KASHMIR

FOREWORD

It is gratifying that Prof. Dr. G.H. Khan of the Kashmir University has done an in-depth study of the first phase of our freedom struggle upto 1938. I hope his research work will lead to the understanding of the causes which led the down-trodden people of the State to rise against the autocratic rule. The analysis of the socio-economic and political situation since 1931 to 1940 has been revealed in the present study which is well documented.

I wish other scholars in the field to continue the work of study into various facets of our freedom struggle on the lines suggested by Prof. Khan. This work is most commendable.

(S.M. ABDULLAH)

Srinagar
August 12, 1980

PREFACE

The Jammu and Kashmir State is composed of three main cultural units and geographical divisions, namely, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The Jammu and Kashmir State came into existence as a result of the conquest of the Punjab by the British in 1845. The territories of Jammu and Kashmir which formed a part of the Sikh State were separated from it. The provinces of Kashmir and Gilgit were handed over to Gulab Singh, a feudatory of the Sikhs, for a cash payment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees by the British. Gulab Singh was recognised the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. He laid the foundation of Dogra rule in the State. The Dogras retained the feudal structure of society which the earlier rulers had already established in the State. The Muslim subjects who formed the bulk of the population bore the heaviest brunt and burden of the Dogra autocracy which was restrictive, despotic and exploitative. The freedom movement was actually a vigorous struggle against the oppressive rule of the Dogras.

This work, a revised version of the thesis 'Freedom Movement in Kashmir' submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science to the University of Kashmir, is a comprehensive survey of the history of freedom movement in Kashmir from 1931 to 1940. The events which occurred during this period have chronologically been surveyed. The present study also concentrates on the general economic and political conditions of the people and various other forces which were directly or indirectly involved in the long struggle. To give a historical continuity to the subject it has been found necessary to analyse the early historical background of the State—the political and economic structure in which the people of the State lived. The general uprising of the Muslim subjects against the Dogras in 1931 was the culmination of a number of early

political struggles and trends towards social reform. All these significant developments have been traced and analysed so as to present a historical setting for what happened in 1931 and afterwards. The movement has also been examined in the larger context of contemporary events in India. The present work also examines the problem of the minorities. It attempts, therefore, an analysis of the attitude of the minority communities towards the movement during the period under the present survey.

The freedom movement in Kashmir from 1931 to 1940 led exclusively by the Muslim masses under the banner of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was never communal in its character. This movement found a secular-minded leader in the person of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. His leadership provided the movement both national and secular basis. The struggle for responsible Government and the forces and factors responsible for shaping the movement on broader principles of secular nationalism have been fully treated and thoroughly examined.

So far no serious study on the freedom movement in Kashmir, especially on the period selected for the present work, has been undertaken in the State. The present work is, therefore, expected to cut fresh ground in both the politics and history of the State.

The present study has made use of the historical method. Data and facts collected have been processed and presented in their proper context. Both primary and secondary sources of information include Archival records, personal diary, official reports and publications, constitutional documents, Praja Sabha Debates, party documents, interviews, periodicals and newspapers both national and local.

The scheme followed in this work is divided into five chapters. Chapter first deals with the historical background which includes the founding of the Jammu and Kashmir State in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Amritsar. The Treaty is studied analytically. The problem of British intervention in the internal affairs of the State and its consequences have been fully examined. The socio-economic and political conditions of the people under Dogra rule, the character of its

administrative system and its impact on the masses in general and the peasantry in particular, reveal the real causes of the political turmoil in the State.

The second chapter deals with the early socio-religious reform and political movements of the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects in the State. The Arya Samaj Movement, the earliest socio-religious reform movement is treated analytically. Even the political character of the movement has been carefully examined. The role of the Yuvak Sabha, an organisation of the native Kashmiri Pandits, has been examined in its socio-religious and political character. Similar treatment is accorded to the Dogra Sadar Sabha of the Jammu Province. The early socio-religious reform movements among the Muslims relate to Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, the Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar, the Anjuman i-Tohfuz-i Namaz-wa-Satari Masturat, the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu, the Young Men's Muslim Association, Jammu and the impact of Khwaja Nizami's socio-religious reform movement upon the Muslims in some areas of Jammu province. The early socio-religious reform movements among the Muslims have been examined in their role which they played in fighting for the Muslims' social, economic, educational and even political rights. These early socio-religious reform movements were significant in that they caused social and political consciousness among the politically, economically and socially backward Muslims.

Similarly, the early political movements have been discussed, assessed and evaluated. These early political movements were an assertion on the part of the people of the State that the autocracy should at least treat the subjugated people on humanitarian grounds, giving them the elementary rights of existence in its political system. Thus, the resistance shown by the tribals of the frontier areas of Gilgit and Ladakh against the Dogra ascendancy; the first demonstration by Shawl-weavers, in 1865 against the oppression and exploitation of the officials of the Shawl industry in Kashmir; the peoples' demonstration against the food crisis in the first decade of the present century; the khilafat movement in Kashmir during 1922-23; the presentation of the charter of demands by the Muslims of Srinagar to Lord Reading in 1924 and the Silk Factory Workers' rising

against the oppression of the officials in 1924—reveal the political aspirations of the masses. These early socio-religious reforms and political movements form the background in the light of which the freedom movement of Jammu and Kashmir State is vividly comprehended and understood.

Chapter third is concerned with the operational aspect of the freedom movement in its initial stage. It deals with the direct action front. It starts with the examination of the causes which were responsible for the Muslim unrest in the State. These causes relate to various social, economic, religious and political disabilities which especially the Muslim subjects suffered for decades under the Dogra autocracy. The operational aspect of the movement spearheaded by the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference which was formed in 1932 and which gave the movement a well-knit organisation, has been evaluated in the light of new trends which took place from time to time. Also, the new developments in the politics of the State are revealed in this chapter. The rise of the factional politics among Muslims and its impact upon the movement and the emergence of radicals among Muslims and their political role have been carefully examined. Besides, the attitude and role of native non-Muslims towards the movement and also the reaction and role of the Muslim and non-Muslim parties and groups in British India such as, the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Majlis-i-Ahharar, Lahore and the Ahmadiyahs towards the movement from 1931 to 1935 have been thoroughly assessed.

The fourth chapter attempts to examine the demand for the establishment of representative institutions and the demand for the grant of basic civil rights to the people in the State. The chapter reveals the examination of the composition and role of various commissions of inquiries appointed by the Government from time to time in connection with the grant of constitutional reforms in the State. The demand for constitutional reforms led to the demand for responsible Government. The fight for the establishment of a responsible Government both within the legislature and outside the Assembly has been critically examined. The role played by the Kashmiris in the agitation against the federal scheme as envisaged under the Government of India Act 1935, has been critically dealt with.

The fifth chapter deals with the secularisation of politics in Jammu and Kashmir from 1931 to 1940. Various forces and factors, pressures and counter-pressures responsible for carrying the movement on a broader plank of secularism and nationalism are revealed thoroughly. The impact of Muslim factional politics on the movement and the role and attitude of non-Muslims towards the Muslim factional politics have also been seriously examined. In organising the movement on secular lines, the role played by the young Muslim radicals and the progressive elements among non-Muslims has been fully treated with all objectiveness and impartiality possible. The joint struggle launched by the democratic forces for the achievement of a secular national organisation mark a special feature of this chapter. Careful attention has been devoted to examine the role of newly emerged radical forces such as, the Kashmir Youth League, the Student Federation and the Congress units in redirecting the movement on secular lines. New dimensions of the State politics in the shape of National Demand, Nehru-Abdullah meet at Peshawar, the participation of Kashmiri leaders in the annual session of All India States Peoples Conference at Ludhiana have been examined. The chapter also deals with the rise of nationalism finally leading to the conversion of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, and bringing about the Kashmir freedom struggle in line with the freedom movement of the Indian National Congress.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my supervisor, late Dr. Mohammad Yasin, Head of the Post-graduate Department of History, the University of Kashmir, without whose inspiring guidance and encouragement it would not have been possible for me to prepare the present work. I am also indebted to various individuals and institutions. I also take opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Dr. S.A.H. Haqqi, Head of the Department of Political Science, the Muslim University, Aligarh for his unfailing encouragement. I can never forget the affection he extended towards me from time to time. I am also grateful to Dr. N.N. Raina, Head of the Department of Physics, the University of Kashmir (himself a veteran freedom fighter) for his valuable suggestions to me while the present work was in process of

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Jammu and Kashmir in Historical Perspective

The State of Jammu and Kashmir with its present boundaries was founded by Maharaja Gulab Singh. He had initially secured in 1820 the principality of Jammu as a *jagir* from Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab in recognition of his loyal services and was authorised to rule over the territory as the Raja. Gulab Singh was possessed of military skill, administrative capacity, shrewdness, and a flair for diplomacy and intrigue. Emboldened by the new rank, he started the process of consolidating Jammu. By the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 he had subjugated most of the neighbouring territories and confiscated the fiefs of some feudal chiefs, whereas in "other cases he had retained and attached to his government the nobles while gradually lessening their political importance".¹ In the process, too, he laid the foundation of a centralized government. He had defined his concept of an effective government as one "in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came punctually".² Therefore, according to him, force was at once the basis of the government and a method of achieving political purpose. This policy was faithfully followed by his successors, and remained the main instrument of political control throughout the Dogra rule in the State.

The existence of a strong and hostile Sikh state in the north-west of India could not but be a constant danger to the safety

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of the British India. The conquest of the Punjab had, therefore, been an intense desire of the British East India Company to complete its territorial aggrandisement. The opportunity to fulfil this political objective was provided by the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was succeeded by weak, imbecile and inefficient rulers in the Punjab. The Court at Lahore had become full of intrigues and factions. It was evident that the Sikh rule in the Punjab was nearing its end. The Government of India took advantage of the factious politics at the Lahore Court and struck a severe blow to the Sikh state. As a result, the Anglo-Sikh war (10th February, 1846) decided, at the battle of Subroan, the field in favour of the British East India Company. Since the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Gulab Singh had been thinking of "carving a kingdom for himself".³ During the period from Ranjit Singh's death to the actual occurrence of war between the British and the Sikhs, he had been watching every development with great care and foresight. The comparative strength and power of the British and the Sikhs had convinced him of the latter's downfall in the event of a war. It was because of this judgement that Gulab Singh had befriended the British long before the Sikh power was liquidated and the Punjab annexed.

The Anglo-Sikh war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Lahore on the 9th of March, 1846. The treaty recognized the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in hills as "may be made over to him by a separate treaty".⁴ The significance of the Lahore Treaty lay in the fact that a new and separate territorial entity⁵—Kashmir—was created out of the Sikh State and placed under the sovereign authority of Raja Gulab Singh.

Treaty of Amritsar

In order to carry out the provision of the Treaty of Lahore, a separate agreement was concluded by the East India Company with Raja Gulab Singh at Amritsar on the 16th of March, 1846. This agreement is popularly known in the history of the Jammu and Kashmir State as the Treaty of Amritsar.

By this treaty Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh for cash payment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees.⁶ The same Treaty recognized Gulab Singh as the Maharaja of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Thus was founded the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Treaty of Amritsar had made it obligatory upon Maharaja Gulab Singh not to make any alteration in the territories of his state without the due concurrence of the British Government.⁷ The Treaty had also put the Maharaja under an obligation to submit any dispute that might arise between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and any other neighbouring state to the British arbitration whose decision was binding on the Maharaja as well as his male heirs.⁸ The Maharaja was not permitted to employ or retain in his service any British or European or American subject without the consent of the Government of India.⁹ The Treaty had promised the British aid and assistance to the Maharaja for defending and protecting his territories from external enemies.¹⁰ Finally, the Maharaja was to recognize and acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government.¹¹

The Treaty of Amritsar occupies an important place in the people's history of the Jammu and Kashmir State. During the freedom movement, the Treaty became a potent argument in the hands of Kashmiri people. They challenged the very existence of the Treaty on humanitarian grounds, and claimed that neither the people nor their political freedom could be purchased for a paltry sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. The Maharajas justified, on the other hand, their absolute power to rule over the State and its people on the ground that they were unquestioned sovereign as recognized by the treaty itself.

Evaluation of the Treaty

An analytical study of the treaty of Amritsar would reveal the fact that the claim of the Maharajas to absolute sovereign authority as recognized by the Treaty was a deep misunderstanding on their part. The Treaty could not be an exception to the general policy according to which the Government of India conducted its relations with the other native states of

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India at that time. The British were conscious of this fact. When the Treaty of Amritsar was signed, the relations between the Government of India and the native states were conducted under the policy of subordinate isolation (1813 to 1858). The main principles of this policy were perpetuated friendship, alliance and unity of interests between the British and the native chief of a state. It recognized the principle that "friends and enemies of one shall be friends and enemies of both."¹² The ruler of a native state was required to act in subordinate cooperation with the Government of India. He had to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government. Besides, the native chief was required neither "to have any connection with other chiefs of the states",¹³ nor to negotiate with them without the consent of the British Government. He could not commit aggression on any other native state. In case of a dispute with another state, he was required to submit the dispute to the British arbitration¹⁴ and the decision thereof was binding on him.

The policy of subordinate isolation however guaranteed the internal sovereignty of the ruler¹⁵ but at the same time the British jurisdiction was permitted to be introduced in the State. These were the theoretical bases on which rested the relation between the British Government and the native states. But the stipulation of non-interference in the internal affairs of the state had in practice proved cause for much evil. "It in effect became a guarantee of misrule."¹⁶ In states where the people suffered owing to autocracy and evils of misgovernment, the British Government did not hesitate, at least on moral grounds, to intervene in the internal affairs of that state and thus check the evil. The Treaty of Amritsar was, from its very nature, an embodiment of the policy of subordinate isolation, and manifestly contained the stipulation of non-interference in the internal affairs of the new-born state of Jammu and Kashmir. But this stipulation of non-interference had immediately led to a gross misrule in the state subjecting the people to an extreme economic stagnation and political servility.

British Intervention

Within less than two years of Maharaja Gulab Singh's rule, the British intervention in the internal affairs of the state began to show its signs. The principal cause of this intervention were complaints which the Government of India had received about the Maharaja's "oppression on the people".¹⁷ In order to know facts the Government of India sent a chain of agents to Kashmir to make enquiries into the allegations against the Maharaja. The investigation done, and the truth of the complaints established, the Maharaja was warned that "the British Government will not permit tyranny in Cashmere .. and that if you will not act for yourself some other arrangement will be made for the protection of the Hill people".¹⁸ The Government of India felt need to appoint an experienced officer as "an expedient measure for the purpose of making inquiries into the conditions of the people under the Maharaja's rule and reporting generally upon the state of affairs of the country".¹⁹ Ultimately the Government of India made it clear to the Maharaja that "it never can consent to incur the reproach of becoming indirectly the instrument of oppression of the people committed to the Princes' charge".²⁰ A note of warning was issued to the Maharaja that the Government of India would not even shirk to resort to interfere in his administration and curtail his authority if his oppression continued.²¹ The main purpose behind these warnings was to persuade the Maharaja to reform the administrative set-up of the State as well as to get a permanent Resident appointed in Kashmir. The Maharaja protested almost every time against such an arrangement on the ground that it would lower him "in the eyes of my subjects and in the estimation of the public".²² But these solicitations went unheeded and the question to appoint a Resident was again raised in 1851. This time it was made out that there was need to set right the unsatisfactory conduct of the European visitors in Kashmir because "the British authorities had been frequently receiving complaints against them".²³ In order to restrain such visitors from behaving in an unseemly manner in the Government of India expressed their intention to the Maharaja "to appoint some responsible European at

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Srinagar to stay there till the return of such visitors...(and)... to supervise the conduct of European visitors to Kashmir".²⁴ The Maharaja was forced to accept the proposed agreement and, as a result, a "seasonal British officer with no powers of political supervision"²⁵ was appointed. This arrangement continued till 1885.

Appointment of the Resident

The appointment of a British Resident with political powers in Jammu and Kashmir became an inevitable necessity for the Government of India during the eighties of the nineteenth century. The Government of India had been apprehending, for some time past, the possibility of an attack on India from beyond its north-west frontiers. In fact the British feared a Russian attack on India. The Indian sub-continent was included in one of the plans Napoleon wanted to conquer. But after his failure in Egypt, his dream of conquering India vanished automatically. When in 1807, Napoleon made peace with Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit he suggested to "the Tsar Alexander I that an advance towards India would be feasible".²⁶ But the Tsar had already implemented his plan of expansion in southern Asia and had started interfering in the affairs of Persia. This design of Russia had made the British in India conscious of Russian intentions towards Indian Empire. By 1868 Russia had advanced in the central Asia and extended its influence to Samarkand. These movements had created a great panic in the British circles in India. Simultaneously the Government of India had become suspicious of the adventurous campaigns of the Maharaja of Kashmir which he had been conducting in the north-west of his state. By 1870, Maharaja Ranbir Singh had annexed Chillas, Ponial, Yasin, Darel, Hunza and Nagar, and subjugated these areas under his rule. The Maharaja's policy of expansionism did not find favour with the British. They considered that it "would facilitate Kashmir intrigues...both with Kabul and with Russian at Tashkent".²⁷ This fear had, for the first time, led the Government of India to the realisation of the strategical importance of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The State assumed, therefore, importance from the defence point of view

also. These considerations became forceful arguments with the Government of India to appoint a British Resident in the State. When finally the question was again raised, this time, "it was claimed for the State that it was independent and outside the Indian political system, but neither claim could possibly be deemed valid".²⁸ Moreover the Maharaja of Kashmir was alleged to have been in correspondence with Russia. This had precipitated the British desire to appoint its political agent in Kashmir. By appointing a Resident, the advantage of the British Government "in respect of the control of the political doings of Cashmere and the information to be obtained from central Asia will be very great".²⁹ This allegation was made the basis on which the relations between the Government of India and the Jammu and Kashmir State was to be determined for the future. This new relationship aimed at securing a "political ally with reference to transfrontier politics"³⁰, and an unchecked, uncontrolled and unwatched Kashmir ruler could not be relied upon. The only course of action open to the Government of India was, therefore, not to allow the Maharaja "to maintain relations with transfrontier states unbecoming his position. Had there been a Resident in Kashmir, the Maharaja's subordinate position would have been marked out clearly. Foreign states could have considered it less worth their while to intrigue with him".³¹ The Maharaja came to be regarded now by the Government of India as a politically weak ally, "weak from every point of view".³² On these grounds the Government of India strongly favoured the appointment of a Resident in the State. This arrangement was ultimately given effect and on the 25th of September, 1885 Maharaja Pratap Singh reluctantly accepted Sir Olive Saint John, Officer on Special Duty, as the first Resident. The Jammu and Kashmir State was, thus, brought politically at par with other native States of India.

Intervention and Its Consequences

Soon after the Resident assumed his office, the British intervention began in the internal affairs of the State. The administration became the first target of this intervention. The ministers and the officials of the State were weak and corrupt. They had

been financially eating up the State. The greatest obstacle to the progress of any kind was "the presence of so many useless and mischievous *Bengalis*".³³ The State was, therefore, in need of dire reforms. The Resident had informed the Government of India of the real state of affairs and, as a result, the Maharaja was forced to agree to "entrust the administration to a Council"³⁴ in 1887. The Council consisted of the Maharaja's two brothers and the Governor of Kashmir. But due to the mutual rivalry between the Maharaja and his brothers, the Council failed to bring about any improvement in the administration. Intrigues among the factious groups became rampant. The entire administration was found in a state of chaos and anarchy "where nothing is done for the benefit of the people, the only rule is that of pure selfishness".³⁵ The conspiracies hatched by Maharaja Pratap Singh's brother, Raja Amar Singh, in league with the British resulted ultimately in the Maharaja's exit from the state administration. It so happened that in a dramatic manoeuvring Colonel Nisbet, the Resident, had discovered for himself a bunch of thirty-four letters allegedly written by the Maharaja himself in his native language Dogri. The letters had "revealed a design set on foot to murder Mr. Plowden, the British Resident, his own brothers and a Maharani".³⁶ The Resident had become convinced of the planned design of the Maharaja. On the basis of these letters the Maharaja was deposed and deprived of the political power and authority. Other charges levelled against him were that he had been "appointing unworthy and incapable persons to the important offices of the State"³⁷ and that he was unfit to rule and incapable of ameliorating the conditions of the State in the absence of "those reforms which he had acknowledged to be necessary".³⁸ The deposition was effected on the 8th of March 1889 when the Maharaja was made to sign an *Irshad* by which he ceased to conduct the affairs of the State for a period of five years. The administration of the State was entrusted to a new Council whose President was appointed by the Government of India. The Council was given "full powers for an indefinite period"³⁹ and was placed under the over-all control of the Resident. The British intervention in the internal matters of the State was, thus, complete.

Intervention and Issue of Succession

After having completed the period of deposition, Maharaja Pratap Singh was, in 1905, restored to power on the condition that "he will take no steps of any importance without consulting him (the Resident) and...will follow his advice whenever it may be offered and also to obligations devolved upon him to consult the Resident whenever his interests or those of the State were concerned".⁴⁰ These conditions restricted the powers of the Maharaja both in his private and official capacity.

Besides, Raja Amar Singh, the bitterest enemy of the Maharaja, was permitted to remain the Prime Minister of the State much against the Maharaja's wishes. This arrangement and the conditions on which the Maharaja was reinstated caused genuine suspicions in his mind. He began to feel disconsolate over the issue of succession to the throne which he had been broaching for some time. Soon after his restoration, he raised the issue again with the Government of India. The tragedy with Maharaja Pratap Singh was that he had no child to succeed him. All his hopes ended in smoke when a child was born to him and died while in the lap. This not only shocked the Maharaja but also all his well-wishers. Even Jawaharlal Nehru was shocked to hear the death of the Maharaja's son.⁴¹ The Maharaja wanted, therefore, to adopt a son of his own choice,⁴² for this purpose. He had expressed his desire to adopt the second son of his cousin, Raja Baldev Singh of Poonch, for various reasons.⁴³ His brother, Raja Amar Singh, wanted the Maharaja to adopt his own son, Mian Hari Singh. This the Maharaja refused on the ground that it was irreligious and sinful to adopt Mian Hari Singh, the only son of his father.⁴⁴ However, every contention and claim put forward by the Maharaja for adopting the second son of Raja Baldev Singh was rejected outright by the Government of India. In fact the issue of succession to the throne had already been settled between the Government of India and Raja Amar Singh. The Government of India recognized Mian Hari Singh next heir to the throne after the death of Maharaja Pratap Singh. The Maharaja was, however, permitted to adopt the second son of the

Raja of Poonch for the purpose of performing the religious ceremony after his own death.

The question of succession to the throne of the State had engaged the attention of the Government of India for a considerable time. For the British the issue of succession was a political one. They were least concerned with a settlement of the issue done on the basis of religious scriptures, or the *Sanads* or *Dastur ul-Amal*.⁴⁵ The British had looked at the issue from a purely political point of view. Therefore it required to be clinched on the basis of political considerations. As the main political objective of the British was to bring the State under the central control, more in their imperial interests than those of the people or of the Maharaja, they wanted to see on the throne a person in whom they could repose full confidence. They had found that person in Raja Amar Singh and his son, Mian Hari Singh. The British intervention had also been facilitated by the Dogras themselves. After the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, his eldest son, Pratap Singh became the ruler of the State. But immediately after his succession to the throne, he was involved in the issue of succession to the throne, and the greed to occupy the throne had eventually led Raja Amar Singh to play against the Maharaja.⁴⁶ The hunger for the throne had assumed such dimensions among the members of the royal family that the situation was easily explained by "occidental diplomacy".⁴⁷

So far as the policy of British intervention in the internal affairs of the princely states in India was concerned, before 1858, "it had been fitful and irregular but after 1858 it became a regular and normal feature of its relations with the states".⁴⁸ The purpose of intervention in the internal affairs of the states had been "to prevent gross misrule, to settle disputed successions, to suppress inhuman practices, etc."⁴⁹, so that the states could be controlled in the common interests of the Empire.⁵⁰ The Jammu and Kashmir State was no exception to this general policy of the British Government at that time. Henceforth the policy of decision-making with respect to the most important matters of administration of the State became the responsibility of the Government of India.

The study of the British intervention in the Jammu and

Kashmir State assumes importance in that it exposes the inner conflicts among the members of the ruling family which had been adversely affecting the people. In this atmosphere of infighting and rivalry the rulers became oblivious of their responsibilities towards the people. Also, this paved the way for corrupt and weak officials to rise to eminence. Little attention was paid to the problems besetting the people, and the State was never in a position to register any progress worth the name. Consequently the people were groaning under the impact of misrule and misgovernment. Nevertheless, the British intervention mitigated the sordid situation to a degree by introducing some reforms in the State.

Socio-Economic Conditions under the Dogras

During the period of the Dogras the people of the State suffered miserably. There is no doubt that the British gave the State a semblance of peace and to some extent ameliorated the conditions of the people but actually their policies at best helped "the upper classes of the Hindus in particular to consolidate and fatten themselves at the expenses of the masses".⁵¹ The masses remained in abject poverty.

The reasons for economic backwardness of the masses were due to the very character of the State, its institutions of the *Jagirdari* system and the system of revenue, taxation and corrupt administration. Jammu and Kashmir was a feudal State with some variations. The feudal character of the State was evident in the claim of its ruler that all lands in Kashmir belonged to him.⁵² The Maharaja was, thus, the biggest *Jagirdar* at the apex of a chain of *Jagirdars* subordinate to him. Most of the State was divided into a number of *jagirs* (estates), and these estates were granted by the Maharaja to the members of the royal family, to their relatives, to the persons who belonged to the same caste and religion as professed by the ruler himself, and to those persons who had proved, by service or otherwise, their loyalty to the person of the ruler as well as his throne. The Maharaja also enjoyed unquestioned authority to deprive any person of the estate granted to him.

Jurisdictional Jagirs

There were two jurisdictional jagirs and both were located in the province of Jammu. The jurisdictional jagir of Poonch was bigger in size and population than that of Chenani. Both jagirs were ruled by Rajas, feudatory to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.⁵³ They had identical rights and privileges in matters of administration within their respective Jagirs.⁵⁴

The Rajas of the jurisdictional jagirs had unlimited power over the people living within their jurisdiction. The people suffered mal-administration, corruption of officials, illiteracy, hunger, taxation and so on. The people of Chenani were worse than those of Poonch. The Raja of Chenani was a tyrant. He used to treat his people worse than slaves, and forcibly dispossessed them of their property, thus rendering them most miserable.⁵⁵

Autonomous Feudatories

Hunza and Nagar, two small states situated to the extreme north of Kashmir, were populated by Muslims. Internally autonomous, they were under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Kashmir. Their feudatory character was evident in that they paid a tribute of nominal value to the Maharaja. They also furnished two companies of eighty men each to Gilgit Corps of Scouts.⁵⁶

Conditions of Peasants

Jammu and Kashmir being an agricultural state, about 85 per cent of the people lived in villages, forming, as it were, the backbone of the entire economic structure of the State. The vast majority of the peasants suffered miserably under a system which owed, historically speaking, "its immediate origin to practices inherited from the most decadent and chaotic period of rule, and its form to changes made slowly and not without mistakes by men who were mostly aliens to the country and could hardly assimilate the requirements or enter into the feelings of the people".⁵⁷ The chronic deterioration in agriculture and its

consequent impact on the life of peasants was the result of unsound revenue system accompanied with corrupt officialdom, and the nature of relations among the cultivators, the jagirdars or landlords and the State. Under this system there was also a class of intermediaries who exploited the labourer and the tiller of the land.

The *jagirdari* system had rendered the peasant utterly destitute. The *jagirdar* was practically the master of his estate. The peasant was nothing more than a purchased slave. The jagirdar was "the judge, the administrator and the police"⁵⁸ within his estate. He had unlimited power of collecting revenue in his *jagir* through men or servants employed by him for the purpose. Below *jagirdars* were *chakdars* who used to be temporary landholders. The *chakdar*, like the *jagirdar*, treated the cultivators in his *chak* with great severity. He was entitled to one half of the produce of his *chak*.⁵⁹ The cultivators did not only produce corn for the *jagirdars* or *chakdars*, but also rendered other services to them. They were to work in the orchards owned by their masters and serve in their homes. For this they were never paid. Under the system of *jagirdari* the peasants had virtually been reduced to the state of serfs which is characteristic of a feudal state.

Revenue System

The most abominable feature of this agrarian State was the hackneyed and unsound system of land revenue. This system was run by a host of officials whose corrupt practices had not only brought down upon the peasants a moral degeneration but it also had a "more momentous effect on the character and the development of people than it had in any other native state"⁶⁰ of the Indian sub-continent. The Kashmir province was afflicted with the adverse consequences of the system. Almost the entire land revenue establishment in the province was composed of pandits which was "a cause and misfortune to the Musalmans of Kashmir".⁶¹ The basic cause of this state of affairs was the absence of a settled land revenue system in the State. The State had been following one system after another and every new system proved much more cumbersome and chaotic than the

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previous on with the result that both the state and the people suffered a loss.

The first fifty years of the Dogra rule in Kashmir were responsible for disseminating in the minds of its subjects the seed of resentment against its very existence. The reason was the tyranny exercised by a host of revenue officials on peasants for the collection of land revenue. The land in this period was in a dilapidated condition. The revenue system consisted of various methods and experiments. In the beginning the land was parcelled out by the State to its own agents known as *Kardars*. The *kardar* in his own turn distributed it among the cultivators for one year. During this year the responsibility of the *kardar* was to get "the largest possible quantity of grains for the State"⁶², a task he accomplished with great ruthlessness. The next State agents were known as *Shakdar* and *Sazawal*, the function of the former being to sit in the village and watch the crops, while the latter supervised the work of the farmers.⁶³ When the harvest time came, a regiment known as *Nizamat paltan*, always supplemented from the regular army, moved out into the village to enforce the State's claim. This system had remained in operation upto 1860. The period between 1860 and 1873 witnessed the system of *Chalakdars* or speculating contractors which was replaced by *Assamiwar Khewat* in 1873. This remained in operation upto 1880.⁶⁴

In 1880 the State resolved to realise the land revenue in full through the revenue officials. But the worst part of it was that the system was exploited by the officials more in their own interests than in the interests of the State. The revenue was collected with such severity and harshness that the cultivators had to sell up even the cattle and sheep of the village. Most of the cultivators were not in a position to pay the revenue in full and they were forced, under fear of severe penalty, to leave their homes. They migrated to other villages where they took service as farm labourers with some privileged land holders.⁶⁵ This system was soon found unsuccessful and it was replaced by a new device known as "*Izad-Bolt*". Under this device villages began to be auctioned to the highest bidders. The fields under cultivation were "examined by *Nazardid* i.e. eye-survey, after which the Government share is made over to the highest bidder

among pandit contractors..."⁶⁶ These contractors or bidders were responsible for collecting the revenue for the State. The main drawback of this system was that when it appeared to them that the year's crops were not good "nearly all the speculating bidders, after taking all they wring from the villagers, absconded without paying the State a single rupee".⁶⁷ The sums offered at the time of bidding being unrealised by the State were regarded as future revenue demand of the village. The speculative bidder and the revenue officials joined hands together to rob the State as well as the cultivator. And when the contractor had failed to produce the quantity of grains to the Government as already agreed upon, he would accuse the cultivator of theft and, then, "both he and the cultivator are enrolled in the "*bakidar*" or defaulter list, which "comprises nearly every one in the State from Prime Minister downwards. The balances run from year to year and no one can see the end of them".⁶⁸ This unsound and unsettled revenue system was bound to have its adverse repercussion. Under the experimentation of these devices the revenue officials of the State "from the highest to the lowest combined to rob the master and despoil the people".⁶⁹ From the administrative point of view the villages were subjected to two kinds of revenues : one known as *Koul* and the other as *Rasum*. The former was legitimate whereas the latter was illegal. *Rasum* was what may be termed perquisites which every revenue official exacted from each village for his own shares.⁷⁰ The officials robbed the cultivators even of their legitimate rights. It was the custom to allot to each village a certain amount of grain for seed in the form of advance known as *tukm-i masala*. As it is, "the grain never reached the cultivator but was divided between the officials and the value of the grain was gravely entered every year as an arrear against the village".⁷¹ Also, when the land was taken from the assessed areas either for public purpose or for private purpose of the officials, no revenue was remitted on that land, the village had to pay the revenue. The villagers were also forced to join the conspiracy to rob the State. Those who declined to follow the line of officials had to suffer at their hands.⁷²

Taxation

In addition to the revenue on the produce of land, the peasants were subjected to the payment of various other kinds of taxes paid to the Government. The following table indicates these taxes:⁷³

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Name of the commodity</i>	<i>Tax paid</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1.	For each Milk cow	1½ seers of ghee	
2.	For each household	1—10 fowls	According to the number of inmates
3.	Fruit	$\frac{2}{5}$ ths of the total produce	It was realised on walnuts, apples, pears, apricots, almonds, etc.
4.	For each village producing 500 kharwars of grain	2 or 3 goats or sheep	Annual tax. Half of the value was returned to the zamindars
5.	For each village	1 pony	Under conditions mentioned in S.No. 4
6.	Puttoo (wool)	1 loie or woven blanket	Under conditions mentioned in S.No. 4
7.	Honey	2/3rds of the total produce	This tax was realised in the honey producing areas

Besides, the taxes in Kashmir were so multifarious, and the regulations under which they were imposed and exacted were so often altered that it was hard to say with confidence, at any given moment, what were the taxes from which the commerce of the State was especially suffering. The fiscal policy of the Darbar was, in fact, "guided by no other consideration than that of wringing the last pice out of all trades and manufactures".⁷⁴

Oppression by Corrupt Officials

Almost the entire revenue establishment of the State was constituted from among the pandit community. Right from the *Patwari* to the Governor in the *Dewan-i-Daftari* they formed a "powerful ring, inside which the village tax-payer lay fascinated..."⁷⁵ Low salaried as these officials were, they enjoyed a luxurious life on the income they earned by all foul means. It was not therefore surprising to see a *Tehsildar* (revenue officer) with a small pay of thirty rupees a month spending three hundred to five hundred rupees a month. The *Tehsildar* also used to keep with him a number of relatives and friends, known as *mutabir* (men of trust and confidence), and to these he delegated the duties of his office. Even the *Tehsil* police who were always in the villages, lived on the forced hospitality of the villagers. As these men were never under the pay of the State, they took it from the villagers. The villagers were not immune from physical torture either. At the time of collecting the land revenue, the use of nettle scourge in summer and of plunging recusant tax-payer into cold water in winter were popular methods of physical torture carried out against the peasants. These methods of physical punishment were so harsh that in most cases the villagers would leave their homes and flee to a place of safety. Through these corrupt practices and oppressive methods of the revenue department the Muslim cultivators who formed the vast majority of population suffered unspeakable injustice and oppression.⁷⁶

Lawrence's New Settlement

The Government of India had persuaded the Maharaja to

introduce land reforms in the State so that the cultivators as well as the State were saved from the ruinous conditions and disorders which had permeated into every department of life in the State. Accordingly Sir Walter R. Lawrence was entrusted with the work of setting the land-revenue on sound lines. He studied the problem carefully. After five years' labour—18 9 to 1893—he submitted his report on the basis of which a new settlement was introduced in the valley of Kashmir. This settlement remained the basis of land-revenue in Kashmir till the end of the Dogra rule. For all the noble endeavours of Sir Lawrence, he did not prove successful in removing the built-in defects of the old system. The relations between the State, cultivator and the landlord remained as before. The feudalistic character with the system of *jagirdari* was left intact. There was practically no change in the method of collection of the land revenue by the officials. In fact the recommendations of Sir Lawrence⁷⁷ made for improving the peasantry were not honestly put to practice. The result was that the vast majority of the peasants remained frustrated and disappointed.

Rural Indebtedness

The deteriorating economic conditions had virtually reduced the villagers to a pauperism. More than 80 per cent of the people living in villages were often under debt. In most cases the produce of the land was pawned to the money-lender long before it was visible in the fields. Under the *wadduri*⁷⁸ system the illiterate and ignorant villager who had borrowed a trifling sum of thirty or forty rupees, though he went on paying something every year both in cash and in kind, was not able to pay back the debt in full during his life-time. So after his death, the whole family remained perpetually under debt. In this way the entire peasantry became virtual serfs of the money-lender.

Begar or Forced Labour

The most pernicious method of oppression "which breaks the cultivator's heart"⁷⁹ was the system of *Begar* or forced labour.

The main cause of *begar* was the absence of any special labouring class in Kashmir and the demand for *begar* fell, naturally, on the villagers. Many people including Hindus, Sikhs, *Pirzudas*, *Gojars* and those cultivators who worked on the land-grants of the officials were exempt from *begar*.⁸⁰ The institution of *begar* was a potent instrument of oppression and exploitation in the hands of dishonest and corrupt officials of the State. Under this system many thousand Muslims had been driven off every year to toil as carriers of burden on the most dangerous and risky Gilgit road. No care was taken by the authorities of those unfortunate wretches "laiden with grain toiling along the desert crags, between Auster and Gilgit on burning summer's day, urged on by a sepoy guard, is perhaps as pitiable a spectacle as any to be seen on the roads of Siberia".⁸¹ *Begar* was so harshly enforced that the very word was a constant terror in Kashmir. When there was a call for it, the villagers would reluctantly leave their homes for "two or three months with the prospect of death from cold or starvation".⁸² No mercy was shown to those men of burden who were Muslim farmers, harmless subjects of Maharaja⁸³ but were treated worse than convicts and criminals. The system of *begar* was horrid both from humanitarian and economic points of view. Considered from the humanitarian angle, the system was an outrage against the dignity of the peasant as a human being. Economically, the absence of the peasants from their fields brought agricultural activity to a standstill which resulted in heavy losses to the State.

The officials exploited *begar* to meet their personal gains. They often secured "purchases of villages for small sums on promise of exemption from *begar*".⁸⁴ Little wonder, then, that the villagers who sold their land to Hindu officials for securing exemption from *begar* would turn their tenants the next day. Besides, the exemption from forced labour could also be secured on a payment of seventy to ninety rupees per head.

The exploitative character of *begar* also manifested itself when the high officials of the State regarded forced labour as an incident of serfdom which entitled them to take things like milk, poultry, grain, blankets, ponies, cows and sheep free of cost from the villagers. Apart from this, the villagers were

required to render to the officials their services in building their houses in the city or in cultivating their waste-land. For such services they were paid no wages.

Officially, *begar* had been abolished in the State on the recommendation of Sir Walter Lawrence in 1893 but it continued in practice and "the press wrote against it even in 1920".⁸⁵

Conditions of Industrial Labour

The industrial labour in Kashmir State comprised Shawl-bafs (shawl-weavers), men working as labourers and artisans in the Silk Factory, carpet weavers, papier-mache workers, wood carvers, Gubba makers, etc. But the important industries from the point of view of numerical strength of the workers were the shawl weaving and the silk weaving.

The Shawl-making Industry

Thousands of Muslims, men and women, in villages, towns and the city of Srinagar were engaged in the shawl industry in the State. The industry was one of the main sources of income to the State. The credit of this industry lay in the production of the most excellent and exquisite shawl for which Kashmir has always been famous in Europe and Asia. But the tragedy with the industry was that it had never cared to better the conditions of the weaver and the craftsman of the commodity. In fact the shawl-weavers belonged to an extremely suppressed class in Kashmir. Like the peasants they were also victims of official tyranny of *Dagshali*.⁸⁶ Economically, the *shawl-bafs* were the lowest-paid wage earners. The monthly income of a *shawl-baf* did not exceed seven or eight rupees. Out of this measly earning, he paid five rupees for tax, which left him with three or so to live on.⁸⁷

The most pitiable part of a shawl-weaver's life was that he could not change his profession for bettering his economic conditions by finding out a more lucrative job than the shawl-weaving. Many taboos had been placed on *shawl-bafs*. A *shawl baf* was not permitted to change his profession for fear on the part of the government that "it would reduce the

Maharaja's revenue..."⁸⁸ The shawl-weaver was, therefore, forced to remain economically backward and physically emaciated because this uncared for weaver was to remain "half-blind as many of them do from the nature of the work; he may contract other diseases which the sedentary life and the foetid atmosphere of the low-rooms engender and ripen..."⁸⁹ When over-oppressed the shawl weavers had no alternative but to leave their job and emigrate to the plains of the Punjab. Besides, they were always found to be under the debt of the proprietor of the shawl-factory. When a fugitive *shawl-baf* did not return to his job, sepoy of the *Dagshali* would bring to the *Dagshali* his wife or mother or father, or probably all of them and were either fined or imprisoned in case they failed to pay the debt to the factory-owner.

Silk-Industry

Like *shawl-bafs*, thousands of Muslims in villages, towns and in the city of Srinagar were engaged in the production of silk. By 1921, the factory had "over fifty thousand rearers of silk worms in the villages and five thousand labourers in the factory at Srinagar..."⁹⁰ The plight of the labourers was equally pitiable. They were low paid, mostly under paid. The treatment of the officials towards the labourers had always been one of insult and disgrace. For the first time in 1924, the silk-factory labourers rose against the oppressive behaviour of the officials and protested against the working conditions of the factory.

Education under the Dogras

Politically suppressed and economically downtrodden, the Muslims of the Jammu and Kashmir State were also educationally backward. In the rural areas where they constituted more than 80 per cent of the total population, their illiteracy was almost hundred per cent. The causes of their backwardness in education were manifold: their own ignorance, the conservative outlook of their religious leaders, the unsympathetic attitude of non-Muslims towards the Muslim students in

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the Government schools, and the discriminatory policies of the Dogra administration.

When the western system of education was introduced in the State during the eighties of the nineteenth century,⁹¹ the Muslims did not respond. They were in those days under the influence of their religious leaders. These religious leaders set great store by religious education to the exclusion of other fields of education. They exhorted their co-religionists that so long as they truly followed the *Quran* and the *Hadis* the Muslim community would make great progress. Adoption of western system of education and western life-style would turn them in apostates. Thus they would not be able to distinguish between right and wrong. The learning of things western would destroy their minds.⁹² They expressed themselves against those Muslims who favoured modernism. The impact of this theory on the Muslim masses kept them from sending their children to modern schools for about two decades. During this period the Hindus made tremendous progress by providing their children with this kind of schooling. They entered Government services and took monopoly in different departments of the State. This proved an eye-opener for men of wisdom and foresight among a section of the Muslim community. Having realized the advantages of Western learning these men began to approach "the Government to grant them some facilities enabling them to make rapid advance in the sphere of education".⁹³ But they received no encouragement. Moreover, the atmosphere in the Government schools was not suitable for them, for they found that the "educational advance of their community was impossible in the Government schools which were staffed entirely by the Hindu teachers and officers".⁹⁴ These Hindu teachers did not take sufficient interest in the education of Mohammadans.⁹⁵ Due to the unsympathetic attitude of the Hindu teachers a sufficient number of Muslim teachers was thought necessary to be appointed, so that the Muslim children were encouraged and drawn in bulk to these Government schools.⁹⁶

Another cause of Muslims' backwardness in education was their adverse economic conditions. The Muslim parents were not in a position to pay the school fees for educating their boys. Poverty as a factor in the way of their education was

"not an excuse, but a real impediment".⁹⁷ Boys who came from villages and who wanted to continue their studies after having passed their primary education were often frustrated because of the lack of adequate arrangements for their residence in the city and towns.⁹⁸

The most important cause of the educational backwardness of Muslims was the anti-Muslim attitude of the Dogra administration. In 1909, Maharaja Pratap Singh had directed his Education Minister to draw up a scheme for making primary education free and compulsory throughout the State,⁹⁹ but the Minister was not agreeable to this. The concept of free and compulsory education was rejected by the Minister on the ground that the measure would be looked upon as "zooloom" (an act of tyranny) and would, therefore, be dreaded by the uneducated parents rather than be welcomed as a boon. The Minister pleaded that if the wage-earning children of Muslim parents were interfered with, the parents would not take it kindly; that in the absence of public spirited men the benefits of the measure would not be understood by the people; that the people did not understand the duties of citizenship; that vaccination was not yet compulsory; and that the expenditure for the implementation of the scheme was not sufficient.¹⁰⁰ An impartial observation of these arguments will show that the arguments of the Education Minister to prove the futility of the Maharaja's idea regarding free and compulsory education in the State were vague and meaningless. For example, making compulsory vaccination a precondition to compulsory education had no relevance to the scheme, since vaccination had nothing to do with the scheme of education. Similarly, the argument that the measure would be unsuccessful because the people did not understand the duties of citizenship, was tantamount to begging the question. The Education Minister did not realise that it was through education that the people would be trained into good and dutiful citizens. Also, the argument that the people would regard the measure as tyrannous because there were no public spirited men to make them understand the benefits of free and compulsory education, was a lame excuse to dissuade the Maharaja from advocating the cause of free and compulsory education and to keep Muslims

away from the facilities and benefits the measure would offer them.

The apathy of the Maharaja's administration towards the Muslim education had convinced his Muslim subjects that nothing could save them except their own efforts. Since the beginning of the present century the Muslims had been pressing their right to education. They had also established, in 1905, a school of their own under the aegis of the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* which after a few years was raised to a High School. But one single school could not solve the universal problem of their education. They continued their efforts for getting more and more educational facilities. As all their pleas and petitions went unheeded, they began to contact the influential Muslims outside the State and acquaint them with their despicable conditions. As a result of this contact, the All India Mohammadan Conference sent in 1913 a deputation headed by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan. The deputation presented a memorandum to the Maharaja requesting him to provide his Muslim subjects with facilities for education.¹⁰¹ Two years later, the Government sent their own Education Commissioner, Mr. Sharp, on a monthly salary of Rs. 2,750/- "to investigate and advise the Durbar on educational arrangements in the State".¹⁰² In May 1916, Mr. Sharp began his visit to the educational institutions in Kashmir. He interviewed the officials, educationists and various other public men. In his report Mr. Sharp admitted that the Muslims of Kashmir had been suffering from educational disabilities and that the need of the hour was to improve their conditions. Mr. Sharp made the following recommendations to the Kashmir Durbar:¹⁰³

Firstly, to increase the number of primary schools so that each village having more than 500 people living in it should have one school.

Secondly, to give training to the students in Government schools in a typical form of calligraphy known as *Shikasta Navisi* and to village boys in learning the *Patwar* that is, village accountancy.

Thirdly, to increase the number of Arabic teachers by one hundred.

Fourthly, to staff the village schools, as far as possible, with teachers belonging to majority population.

Fifthly, to train the sons of artisans in works of their respective professions and if they happened to be uneducated they should be given instruction in three R's. He also recommended a special scholarship for Muslim students.

Finally, to grant special scholarship for Muslim teachers for their professional training so that they were appointed headmasters of the schools in villages which were entirely populated by Muslims.

The recommendations of Mr. Sharp were "sanctioned by His Highness but were lightly treated by his Ministers and instructions issued by him were seldom followed by those in charge of Education Department who were invariably (non-Muslim) non-Kashmiris".¹⁰⁴

In spite of the official opposition, the Muslims of Kashmir continued, however, their efforts to urge upon the Maharaja as well as the authorities of his administration to move in the direction of redressing their educational grievances. In their cause and struggle they were supported by their co-religionists outside the State. The *Anjuman-i-Islamia*, Punjab, in 1923, reminded the Maharaja of the deputation headed by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan in 1913 and urged upon him to remove the causes of educational backwardness of Muslims which had already been discussed by the deputation.¹⁰⁵ On the 24th of March 1924, the Honorary General Secretary, All India Kashmiri Muslim Conference, Lahore, expressed in a letter to Foreign Member, Jammu and Kashmir State Council, the desire to see the Maharaja of Kashmir to acquaint him with "the educational need of the Musalmans of Kashmir, the cause of the backwardness in education and other kindred subjects that have been brought to the notice of the Durbar on various occasions by means of representations and resolutions".¹⁰⁶ But all these efforts had proved fruitless. No outside Muslim deputation was permitted to wait upon the Maharaja. Sometimes their supplications evoked a poor, discouraging response, and at other times these were filed even without acknowledgement. This step-motherly treatment meted out to the Muslims stirred in them a deep sense of grievance. For years on end they had complain-

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ed and protested unavailingly. In course of time they began to feel outraged against the tyrannies of the officials. This was bound to give them ideas of agitation and revolt against the rule of injustice.

Problem of Government Services

The demand for a share in Government services was first voiced by the non-Muslims whose young men had come forward for acquiring proficiency in the English language which had been introduced in Government offices in Kashmir. From the very beginning of their rule, the Dogra rulers had been appointing men from outside the State, usually Punjabis, in every branch of the administration. Naturally the natives were being deprived of their share in the services. They protested to the Government of India to give them rightful place in the administration of the State. After having received many representations from the native Kashmiri pandits as early as 1889, the Government of India took up the issue in right earnest. A telegram to the Lieutenant Governor of North-west Province, instructed him thus:

"If Nisbet asks you for native officials for Kashmir, I hope you will kindly help him to get good men. It is very important to start with re-organisation fairly and to avoid a Punjabi ring."¹⁰⁷

As a result of these developments, the non-Muslim natives had been appointed to various senior and lower grade clerical posts. By the year 1909 an appreciable number of Kashmiri non-Muslims had entered Government services. But the high positions were still held by the outsiders who had been creating great difficulties for the natives to get higher promotions on the basis of their work and merit. This attitude of the outsiders had aroused strong feelings of resentment among the Pandits. Convinced that these outsiders were in no way better than the natives of the State in terms of efficiency and intelligence, the Pandits started "the struggle for the rights of the people living in the State against outsiders".¹⁰⁸ Even the Government of India

had been convinced that among these highly placed outsiders, "there is a distinct tendency among them to secure Kashmir not for the Kashmiris, still less for the British, but for the Punjabis and other Indians".¹⁰⁹ This dominance of the outsiders was broken by Maharaja Hari Singh who ascended the throne in 1925. He began to recruit "Dogra Rajputs of mediocre abilities to high Government posts".¹¹⁰ This new trend was greatly resented by the Kashmiri Pandits who did not like their educated men to be excelled or superceded in their official career by inefficient Dogras.

For the Muslims the question of a share in Government services had become next to impossible. By this time "the Governmental machinery came to be manned entirely by people professing the Hindu religion".¹¹¹ There is no doubt that Muslims had taken to English system of education very late, yet their educational progress was not so bad as commonly propagated. Many Muslims had already passed the Entrance Examination. There were many who had passed the First Arts as early as 1909 and the B.A. as early as 1915. By 1925 there was a sizeable number of Muslim graduates, F.As and Matriculates available in Kashmir. About 1000 young Muslims were educated in Urdu and Persian,¹¹² yet the share of Muslim representation was significantly meagre in the services of the State. Between 1910 and 1930 the Muslim representation in the State services did not exceed 1: per cent both in the gazetted and non-gazetted ranks.¹¹³ The reason for their low representation in these services was not so much due to their educational backwardness as to lack of patronage¹¹⁴ and encouragement. The Kashmiri Pandits had all along been creating the impression that their community was entitled to services because of their educational merit, efficiency and administrative skill. The pretence that the Muslims were not sufficiently educated was a "potent means to monopolise the whole administration and keep down the Muslims to an eternal state of subjugation and bondage".¹¹⁵ Hundreds of educated Muslims, well versed in Urdu and Persian, could have been easily employed in those departments where knowledge of English was not required. Since it was not so, these departments were filled up by non-Muslims. The principle of efficiency and merit was merely a

smoke-screen. To cite an example, in Sericulture Department, one of the two non-Muslim Deputy Directors had read upto the Entrance, and out of 6 Senior Assistants 3 non-Muslims had no academic qualification. Similarly out of 11 Junior Assistants 10 including one Muslim had no academic qualification whereas one Muslim graduate had been bracketted with them.¹¹⁶

Similarly, an appalling discrimination against Muslims was evident in the Medical Department. The posts of menials, such as *Khidmatgars* and cooks, did not require any qualification except an elementary knowledge of the three R's. In fact non-Muslims predominated as cooks, compounders and *Khidmatgars*. The relative strength of Hindus and Muslims in the posts is clear from the following table:¹¹⁷

	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Non-Muslims</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. <i>Khidmatgars</i>	12	38	50
2. Cooks	9	29	38
3. Compounders	4	55	59
Total	25	122	147

As for the posts of officers and clerks in other Departments, these were invariably manned by members of the Pandit community. In the Forest Department, for example, the strength of the official establishment was 213. Out of this, the number of Muslims was only two—clerks of the lowest rank. Out of a total strength of 184 officials in Accounts Department, only 13 were Muslims—10 clerks, 1 Examiner, 1 Superintendent and 1 Assistant Accounts Officer. In the Medical Department not a single Muslim was on the staff of its office establishment.¹¹⁸ The same story repeated itself in all other Departments.

Aside from the fact that Muslims were denied their due share in the services of the State, the better-qualified among them were placed in inferior positions to equally qualified non-Muslims. An educated young Muslim had, therefore, to face three potential rivals, that is, the outsider, the Dogra Rajput, and the Kashmiri Pandit—all receiving patronage, influence

and encouragement. The main contention of Muslims was, under these circumstances, that for a backward community like theirs it was "necessary to create interest in education and that can only be done by a liberal policy of enrolling Muslims in large numbers in State services",¹¹⁹ a line followed neither by the ruler nor by his Minister.

Military Services

The military services were exclusively reserved for the Dogras, particularly, Rajputs, "with more than sixty per cent of gazetted appointments going to them".¹²⁰ Both the Kashmiri communities, Muslims and non-Muslims, suffered from this disability imposed on them by the ruling Princes. It was an avowed policy of the Dogras to exclude Kashmiris from their army ranks. When the Rajput Military Training College was established at Jammu, none but Dogra Rajputs were admitted there. This policy of exclusion of Kashmiris from the defence wing of the State was commonly resented by Kashmiris. They felt shocked at this policy of racial discrimination. Commenting on the hundred years of the Dogra rule in the Jammu and Kashmir State, the Kashmiri Pandit Nationalists said:

"The direct effects of Dogra rule in Kashmir are that even at such a late hour as this when discrimination in the recruitment to the Army has been totally abrogated all over the world, Kashmiris whether Muslims or Hindus, cannot enter the State army even though they pay for its maintenance in lacs of rupees. Kashmiris hold today many distinguished positions in the British Indian Army but in their own State they continue to be non-martial and therefore ineligible for recruitment to the Army. By the elimination of Kashmiris, the present army in the State acquires by implication, the character of an Army of occupation composed of alien nationals."¹²¹

Ban on Political Freedom

Political freedom including freedom of press and platform

and of forming associations was totally banned in the State during the first eight decades of the Dogra rule. The policy of suppressing the public opinion was strictly followed by all the ruling princes. In the absence of press and platform there was hardly any public opinion in the State. As for the press, "it is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefited to the extent that it should be by the impact of healthy criticism".¹²² There hardly existed any rapport between the ruler and his subjects in general and his Muslim subjects in particular, who lived in abject poverty, squalor and ignorance. The administrative machinery had "little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances".¹²³ The ban on formation of societies even social and religious, was extremely rigid. The ban on political freedom was strictly imposed by the State Council which functioned under the dominant control of its chairman, Raja Hari Singh. The Council proceeded to stop and stifle even the voice of the articulate section of its people viz., the state servants. Various resolutions were passed by the Council from time to time curbing the political freedom of the people. No meeting or a procession could be held in a public place "unless a written application has been made to the District Magistrate at least three clear days before the meeting or procession is due to occur and unless his permission in writing has been previously obtained",¹²⁴ and "no new sabha or society or association shall be established within the state without the previous permission of His Highness".¹²⁵ Such Council resolutions were reactionary in nature and character. By denying the people their basic rights and civil liberties, the Council was cutting at the very root of all corporate endeavour for all sorts of uplift work in the State. The Government had thus "decivilized and dehumanized the people to the extent of making them so barbarous as to value their native land nothing more than a hundred rupees".¹²⁶

Virtually the State Council had assumed all the powers of governance into its own hands. The ruler, Maharaja Pratap Singh, was "nothing more or less than the constitutional king of the limited monarchy minus the Houses of Parliament".¹⁻⁷ The Council had rendered the Maharaja so impotent that he was simply asked to assent to a measure or withhold it, accord-

ing to its wishes. But in spite of the suppressions and oppressions, the suffering masses could not remain silenced for long. Whenever there was oppression exercised upon them beyond tolerance the people rose against that and showed their power of resistance from time to time.

Disputes Over Religious Places

Apparently the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims were very cordial and peaceful. But in fact there was a deep wave of suspicion, hostility and bitterness running at the bottom of their social relations. One of the most important factors responsible for such a state of affairs between the two communities was the claims and counter-claims of each community over certain religious places and shrines. These disputes dated back to the year 1893, when a dispute between the two communities arose over a Muslims' bathing-place near a mosque at Aalikadal in Srinagar. The Kashmiri pandits had unlawfully occupied the place on the claim that the bathing-place had originally belonged to their community. They had filed a case in a court of law where the Hindu claim was dismissed on the ground that there was "no proof in favour of Hindus".¹²⁸ After that the Pandits forcibly occupied the place on the authority of the Maharaja's orders which had been issued secretly. Thus, the Muslims were deprived of the bathing-place.

Dispute over Hara-Masjid

Another dispute between the two communities cropped up over a piece of land known as Hara Masjid. It so happened that on the 10th of May, 1916, a foundation stone was laid for the new construction of the Jamia Masjid, Srinagar.¹²⁹ While the construction was in progress, the Kashmiri Pandits claimed that the land of Hara Masjid belonged to their community and that they wanted to construct a temple there. This claim was refuted by the Muslims on the ground that the land was a graveyard which indicated that it belonged to them. Both the communities remained adamant on their respective claims. The

dispute had ultimately led them to the court of law. While the case was subjudice, the Pandits obtained, secretly, permission of the Maharaja for the construction of the temple.¹³⁰ The construction was started on April 24, 1923. The moment the Muslims came to know of this they rushed to the spot in large numbers and forced the workers to stop the work. The Sub-Inspector of Police, Pandit Kishen Chand, who was on duty there warned the Muslims of grave consequences in case they continued interference in the construction. The Muslims, however, told the Sub-Inspector of Police that they were at no cost prepared to permit the construction of the temple. They also offered themselves for arrest.¹³¹ This caused a great stir among the Muslims. The President of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam and the religious leader of the Kashmir Muslims, Mirwaiz Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah Shah sent on April 29, 1923, telegrams to the Resident, the Maharaja and Raja Hari Singh, informing them about the developments. In reply to the Governor's letter urging on the Mirwaiz to advise the Muslims to remain peaceful and not to pick quarrels with the Hindus, the Mirwaiz wrote back to the Governor that since the matter was of religious concern it would be difficult for the people to observe peace and in case any disturbance occurred the responsibility would be the Governor's. The Mirwaiz added, "Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, is ready along with fifty other Muslims living in the vicinity of Hara Masjid to court arrest."¹³² In due course the Mirwaiz was supported by other religious leaders of the Muslim community. These religious leaders gave a unity call to the Muslims. Various public meetings were held from time to time at which the Muslims were advised to strictly act according to the canons of Islam and to get united, giving up all mutual differences which existed between Hanfis, Ahli-Hadis, Shias, Ahmadiyas, etc., in order to fight the enemy.¹³³

The non-Muslims did not lag behind. They made counter-attacks against the Muslims. Attacks and counter-attacks through public speeches and posters by one community against the other became a regular feature of the dispute over Hara Masjid. This not only strained the relations between them but also created an unhealthy development in the State. The

result of this was that the construction work of the temple did not go beyond the excavation of the earth for the plinth of the temple. Even the excavated portions of the earth were refilled by the Muslims with stones and clay.¹³⁴ Finally, the dispute was brought to an end by the Government itself. It was decided that since there had originally been a Hindu temple in the big graveyard belonging to the Muslim community, no community would, therefore, be permitted to make any construction on the disputed land. The whole site was handed over to the Archaeological Department whose responsibility it was to construct a fencing around it and protect it.¹³⁵

Dispute over Nagbal (Islamabad)

The dispute over a piece of land at Nagbal in Islamabad, a famous town thirty-four miles away from Srinagar, gave rise to bitter relations between the Hindus and the Muslims there in 1924. The Pandits wanted to construct a temple on a piece of land just opposite a mosque at Nagbal. The Muslim raised an objection on the ground that the land belonged to the mosque. The dispute assumed an ugly shape when the Pandits prevented the Muslims from performing ablution rites, on the day of Jummat-ul-Vida, which led to a quarrel.¹³⁶ However, in June 1924, the Muslims constructed a *Thara*, in spite of the objections raised by the Pandits, without the permission of the authorities. The Pandits thereupon informed the Maharaja of the unlawful construction of the *Thara* which they considered was an encroachment on their rights. The Maharaja took a strict action by despatching some army personnel for the demolition of the *Thara*. The demolishing gave the Muslims a great shock. The Mirwaiz of Islamabad, Moulvi Mahada Shah, addressed Muslim gathering on this occasion thus:¹³⁷

“The Maharaja has ordered to get the *Thara* demolished. We are, therefore, compelled to obey the orders of the Badshah (king)”.

Thus ended the Thara-Temple dispute. But the dispute had a very abnormal impact on the Hindu-Muslim relations

in Islamabad. Immediately after the demolishing of the *Thara*, the Muslim community adopted the technique of boycott against the Pandits.¹³⁸ This was immediately encountered by the Kashmiri Pandits in Srinagar. In several meetings held secretly, the Pandits decided to boycott the Muslim shops. In their anti-Muslim campaign, the Pandits were joined by non-Kashmiri non-Muslims also. In open public meetings untoward remarks were passed on the Muslims and their kings.¹³⁹ These developments not only sharpened the acrimony but widened the differences between the two communities long before they had differed on political issues.

Dispute over Khanqah-i-Mualla, Srinagar

The ugliest of all the disputes over religious places was the dispute that cropped up over the Khanqah-Shrine, Srinagar. It so happened that on August 24, 1924 a few Kashmiri Pandits, in the early morning hours, found that a few stones had been removed and carried away from the Maha-Kali, a Hindu temple situated at a distance of few yards from the main sanctuary on the bank of river Jehlum. They first saw some *Khanqahshis* and made enquiries about the stones. But the *Khanqahshis* expressed their ignorance about the same. The Pandits then informed the police of the theft of the stones from the Maha-Kali. In due course of time, they assembled at Ganpatyar, wherefrom they marched in a procession to the Khanqah Shrine. The moment they entered the premises of the shrine, they pelted the sanctuary, breaking the glass-panes of its windows and demolishing the *Thara* which the Muslims used for the purpose of offering their prayers.¹⁴⁰ This was followed by the construction of *Thara* which was also extended by the Pandits at Maha-Kali.¹⁴¹ The way the Pandits behaved towards the Muslim shrine caused a great resentment among the Muslims. Telegrams were sent to the All India Muslim League, the Begum of Bhopal and the Nizam of Hyderabad by the Muslims, informing them about the occurrence. These telegrams were not transmitted by the authorities to the concerned quarters.¹⁴² As a result of this, the Muslims prevented the Pandits and Aryas from entering the premises of the

Khanqah shrine by barricading the entrances. The Muslim fury alerted the State authorities. The authorities warned the Muslims against grave consequences in case the peace in the city was disturbed. They threatened the Muslims and asked them to remain peaceful. The Sub-Inspector of Police warned the *Mutawali* of Khanqah-i-Mualla against the Muslims activity and said, "...I will ruin you with the help of my police force. You are sending telegrams to the Viceroy. What shall he (Viceroy) do to us?"¹⁴³ The Kashmiri Pandits even blamed the Muslims that they had removed the stones from *Thara* of Maha-Kali. They also held "that the shrine itself had been besmeared with mud probably by some Mohammadans".¹⁴⁴ The Muslims, on the contrary, complained that "yesterday's happenings were due to the extension made by the Pandits in the old *Thara* of their shrine. They added that the Pandits had gone so far as to break the doors and windows of Khanqah-i-Mualla Shrine".¹⁴⁵ The Hindus had also involved the Muslims in several criminal activities. A case was registered against them under "section 215/285 R.B.D. in the Police Station of Maharaj Gunj under F.I.R. No. 48 for besmearing their shrine with mud etc." and another case under section 117 R.B.D. (Riot), "reported by L. Dhani Ram son of Dina Nath Resident of Lahore in the Police Station of Maharaj Gunj under F.I.R. No. 49 for crime".¹⁴⁶ Allegations against the Muslims' indulgence into criminal activities continued to be lodged with the Government authorities.¹⁴⁷ Depending on these allegations, the authorities harassed the Muslims with threatening and warned them that they could not "take law in their own hands and that if they persisted in their courses they will be dealt with severely according to the law".¹⁴⁸ Under these threats the Muslims had to succumb to the force and pressure. They wanted in fact a peaceful solution to the dispute. In order to restore peace they suggested to the Government to detail a police-guard at Khanqah-i-Mualla. Accordingly a police-guard was detailed at the shrine. In the meanwhile, the Government asked leaders of both the communities to constitute a Conciliation Board to bring both the communities closer to each other so that they could live cordially. However, the Muslim leaders were assured by the

authorities that the persons found guilty of besmearing the Khanqah shrine would be punished.¹⁴⁹

While the constitution of the Conciliation Board was still under consideration, a new development cropped up. The Muslim masses were not in favour of any unilateral action. They warned their leaders that there could be no unconditional conciliation with the Pandits. They even urged upon the leaders to convene a public meeting for the purpose of informing the Muslims clearly as to the grounds on which the conciliation between the two communities was to be made.¹⁵⁰ This attitude of the Muslim masses infuriated the Hindus. They held out threats to the Muslims through posters.¹⁵¹ Thus, both the communities entered into a war of charges and counter-charges against each other. Under these circumstances, it became very important for the Government to get the Conciliation Board constituted, so that peace between the two communities was maintained. Under the pressure of the Government, the leaders of both the communities agreed to constitute the Board.

No sooner did the Conciliation Board meet than both the Muslim and the Pandit communities expressed their dissatisfaction over the constitution of the Board. The Muslims objected that their community had not been given adequate representation on the Board; the Pandits expressed their grievances that the members of their community selected by the Governor were against the wishes of the Pandits.¹⁵² However, these developments did not prevent the Board from convening its meetings. The meetings of the Board were held at the Governor's office. During the first few meetings of the Board there arose several differences among the members which rendered the functioning of the Board impossible. The following reasons were responsible for the failure of the Board to achieve its purposes :

First, the Muslim members were not in favour of the meetings of the Board to be held in the Governor's office. They held no free discussion and, therefore, no free decisions could be taken at a place where the fear of the Governor's presence as well as other officials was constantly haunting their minds. The Governor unduly made use of his influence over the members of the Board. The Muslim members, therefore, wanted the change

of the venue from the Governor's office to that of the Municipality of Srinagar.¹⁵³ This was accordingly done.

Secondly, the meeting of the Board held on September 6, 1924 ended in a failure because a member of the Board, Moulvi Zia-ud-Din along with Khudam-i-Khanqah demanded the dismissal of Kishen Chand, a police officer, from the Government service. But the Pandit members opposed this demand,¹⁵⁴ with the result that the meeting was postponed. The next meeting of the Board was held on September 11, 1924. This time, some Muslim members again demanded the postponement of the meeting on the plea that two of their members, namely, Moulvi Zia-ud-Din and Munshi Shubab-ud-Din, were not present. Though this contention was opposed by Mirza Ghulam Mustafa who considered it as an ordinary issue and wanted the Board to proceed with its business, yet it led to a controversy among the Muslim members for a good deal of time with the result that the Board had to wind up its business without achieving anything.

Thirdly, the way the Board functioned had disappointed the Muslim members, thinking it was useless to attend the meetings of the Board. Besides, the Khudam-i-Khanqah dealt a severe blow to all the expectations of the members when they maintained that since the case regarding the dispute over Khanqah-i-Mualla was subjudice there was, therefore, no need of convening the Board meetings any more.¹⁵⁵

Finally, the differences and disagreements over the petty issues raised in the meetings of the Board had rendered the possibility of arriving at the desired goal not only impossible but also it had frustrated all the chances of realising the purpose for which the Conciliation Board had been originally constituted. Under these circumstances, the Governor made his last effort when on September 16, 1924, he called the meeting of the Board. The meeting took a new turn during the course of discussion when one of the Pandit members, namely, Pandit Balkak Dhar at one time passed some unpleasant remarks on the Muslim members. He said :¹⁵⁶

"We are the Government servants. We are not illiterate masons and carpenters to waste our time here."

These remarks were an insult to the Muslim community which could hardly be tolerated by the Muslim members, particularly at a time when efforts to bring about conciliation between the two hostile communities were on the anvil. The Pandit member was paid in the same coin by Munshi Assadullah who rebuked Pandit Balkak Dhar for what he had said about Muslims. The Pandit members adroitly raised the issue of the proportion of representation on the Board. They again complained that the representation of their community was less than that of the Muslims. They demanded the inclusion of two other members, namely, Pandit Amar Nath Kak and Shiv Rattan on the Board. But this demand was vehemently opposed by the Muslim members. Khwaja Saad-Ud-din Shawl made it clear to the Pandits that they had no standing in regard to the Muslim members of the Board. He cautioned them that the Muslims would not remain silent and that unless and until they were given due proportion in the State jobs according to their population, it was difficult for them to remain like dumb spectators.¹⁵⁷ The discussion had shifted from its main purpose to politics, with the result that the Governor's hopes were frustrated. However, the dispute over the Khanqah shrine was brought to an end when a decision was imposed by the Governor on the members of the Board. According to it a memo was drawn by both the parties and signed by them. It was agreed that the extended *Thara* of Maha-Kali was to be forthwith removed by the Hindus while the Notice Boards were to be taken off by the Muslims. As regards the criminal cases against the Muslims pending in courts or in Police Stations, these had been ordered to be shelved. With regard to the bathing-place, the Hindus agreed that it would remain in its original position. Both the communities carried out these terms faithfully.

REFERENCES

1. Fredrick Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, (Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1971), p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*
3. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, (Srinagar, Kashmir Publishing Co., 1941), p. 28.
4. Treaty of Lahore, Article XII.
5. Kashmir on the eve of the Treaty of Lahore was a part of the Sikh State of the Punjab.
6. Treaty of Amritsar, Article III.
7. *Ibid.*, Article IV.
8. *Ibid.*, Article V.
9. *Ibid.*, Article VII.
10. *Ibid.*, Article IX.
11. The Maharaja "will in token of such supremacy present annually to British Government on horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere Shawl." *Ibid.*, Article X.
12. K.V. Punniyah, *The Constitutional History of India*, (Allahabad, 1938), p. 288.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. M.L. Kapur, *Kashmir: Sold and Snatched*, (Jammu, Author 1968), p. 20.
18. Letter from Lt. Col. Lawrence to Maharaja Gulab Singh, November 29, 1847, *Foreign Secret, No. 44-A*, (National Archives of India).
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Foreign Secret, No. 43-A*, January 28, 1848 (National Archives of India).
21. M.L. Kapur, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
22. *Foreign and Political. No. 49, February 2, 1852* (National Archives of India).
23. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1852.
24. Letter from John Lawrence to Jawala Sahai, the Dewan of Maharaja Gulab Singh, January 14, 1852, *Foreign and Political Nos. 82-83, December 14, 1952* (National Archives of India).
25. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
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28. A.B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India (1600-1935)*, (Allahabad, Central Book Depot, 1961).
29. *Foreign Secret, Nos. 19-29 (K.W.)*, *Proceedings, March, 1875*, (National Archives of India).
30. From Handerson to A C. Lyall, November 8, 1879, *Foreign Secret No. 86, Proceedings March, 1883*, (National Archives of India).
31. M.L. Kapur, *op. cit.*

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32. *Ibid.*
33. *Foreign Department, Secret, Nos. 235-300 (K.W.), Proceedings, October, 1886.* (National Archives of India).
34. *Foreign Department, Secret, E, Nos. 73, Proceedings, December, 1886,* (National Archives of India).
35. John Collet's letter, September 5, 1887 to the Private Secretary to the the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, vide M.L. Kapur, *op. cit.*
36. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*
37. From Plowden to Foreign Secretary, *Foreign Department, Secret E, No. 108, Proceedings, March, 1889,* (National Archives of India).
38. M.L. Kapur, *op. cit.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Foreign Department, Secret I, Nos. 3389-I-B, Simla, August, 15, 1906, (Confidential), Proceedings. April, 1907,* (National Archives of India).
41. "I have no hopes now left of begetting a son...The only way in which I can secure my spiritual happiness is to obey the injunctions of the Shastras and to adopt to myself a boy who may be to me the reflection of a son....." From His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir to His Excellency, the Earl of Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, July 4, 1906. *Foreign Department, Secret I, No. 3389-I-B, Simla. August 15, 1906 (Confidential),* (National Archives of India).
42. My dear Jawahar,
Your letter, I have got the pioneer mail of the 7th, 4th, 28th July and have looked through them again and again to find the news of the death of the Maharaja of Kashmir's infant son but it too escaped my eye every time. The strange part of the affair is that I was actually wiring my "heartly congratulations" for the restoration of fuller powers when you were writing to me to send a wire of condolence for another event as I have said nothing except the words I have quoted they may apply to either events but I hope the Maharaja will have the sense to understand my meaning.....' Letter dated Kashmir 13-10-1905, from Moti Lal Nehru to Jawaharlal, *Jawaharlal Nehru Papers, Part I, Volume LVI,* (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
43. The following were the reasons advanced by the Maharaja:
 - (a) The selection should be of a boy of such a tender age as would admit of his separation from his natural parents without doing violence to his feelings...
 - (b) I have an undoubted right conferred on me by Sanads of adopting a son...there exists absolutely no reason why I should not exercise the right towards the betterment of my condition.
 - (c) The Maharaja wanted to adopt a son as he was also permitted to do it by the Dastur-ul-Amal. (*ibid.*)
44. As Dharma Shastras say, "Let no man give or accept an only son, since he must remain for the obsequies of his ancestors", (*Ibid.*)

45. Dastur-ul-Amal was framed by Maharaja Ranbir Singh. It embodied the usage and practice as regards succession to the Jammu and Kashmir throne.
46. The Maharaja was convinced of Raja Amar Singh's diabolical role. He had expressed himself thus:
 - (a) Maharaja Pratap Singh... "fears that his brother may interfere with the course of nature". *Foreign Department, Secret, I, No. 143-9, July 14, 1906 (Confidential)*, (National Archives of India).
 - (b) that Raja Amar Singh had been instrumental in robbing Pratap Singh's Treasury and in spreading disorders in all the Departments and in making false reports against him. *Foreign Department, Secret, Nos. 204-208, September, 1889; File No. 1889, Calcutta Records No. 204, Simla, September 23, 1889*, (National Archives of India).
 - (c) The Maharaja considered his Prime Minister (Raja) Amar Singh, not as a servant but as rival, no more to be condescended in. From Resident in Kashmir to Secretary to Government of India in Foreign Department (Confidential), *Foreign Department, Secret I, Proceedings No. 714, 1907*, (National Archives of India).
47. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*
48. K.V. Punniiah, *op. cit.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. The policy of subordinate union and cooperation (1858-1947) was "the recognition of the unity and identity of the interests between the two parts of the Indian Empire and their promotion by cooperation, if possible, and by coercion if necessary, under the guidance, direction and control of the crown, have become the distinguishing features of this new development of policy" (Lord Canning).
51. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
52. "The proprietary rights in all lands of Kashmir belong to the ruling chief exclusively, for the simple reason that the territories of Kashmir were purchased by my late lamented grand-father, Maharaja Gulab Singh". Letter from Maharaja Pratap Singh to his Prime Minister, December 14, 1918, File No. 191/H-75, *Kashmir Government Records*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
53. (a) The Raja of Poonch exercised his administrative powers subject to the conditions as laid down in a 'patta'. The Raja had to present to "the Maharaja one horse with gold trappings or rupees seven hundred in cash annually. The Rajas were not to commit any important act in their territory without the advice and without consulting the Maharaja". *The revised list of ruling princes, chiefs and leading personages of Jammu and Kashmir State and the Gilgit*, (New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1939), p. 2.
- (b) The Raja of Chenani was a hereditary double Tazimi Sardar. He occupied the second place in the Darbar of Maharaja below the Raja of Poonch.

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54. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
55. Sardar Budh Singh, *Jagir Shahi-ka-Postmortem*, (Srinagar, New Kashmir Press), n.d., p. 27.
56. The revised list of ruling princes, chiefs and leading personages of Jammu and Kashmir State and the Gilgit, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
57. Land Reforms Officer, *J & K State Land Reforms*, (n.d.), (Srinagar, Research Library).
58. Munshi Nasir-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-ki-Jung-i-Azadi*, (Srinagar, Kashmir Book Depot), p. 32.
59. Chakdars were certainly a privileged class. They had acquired landed property under deeds granted by the State. These estates were often situated in several villages at a time.
60. Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1895), p. 399.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 401.
62. P.N. Kaul Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, (Delhi Metropolitan Book Co., 1973), p. 688.
63. Walter R. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
64. Under Assami-war Khewat, the assessment was supposed to have been an average of the collections of the three previous years.
65. Walter R. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 404.
66. Henvey's Report on Kashmir (Confidential), Simla Records, *Foreign Department, Secret E, Proceedings, January, 1883, Nos. 239-240* (National Archives of India).
67. Walter R. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
68. Henvey's Report on Kashmir, *op. cit.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. The following tables are reproduction of Walter R. Lawrence *op. cit.*, pp. 415-417:

S.		
No.	KOUL	Rs — As
1.	1/2 share of kharif and rabi crops	520— 0
2.	Item on a/c of walnut trees	63—12
3.	Lump sum paid for land by shawl-weavers and for land under vegetable cultivation	138—12
4.	Advance on the original assessment (Izad Boli):	300— 0
5.	Item for the jungle produce	7— 0
6.	Item for grass and village officers	9— 0
Total		1,038— 8

Taxes

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. Do-Kharwari (2 per cent) | 18—13 |
|-----------------------------|-------|

2. Sala, Jalus (Sala is a tax on a/c of Sanskrit School. Jalus is a tax on a/c of expenses of English visitors).	18—13
3. Kanungo Tax	3—14
4. Patwari Tax	3—14
5. Tax on a/c of Maharaja's temple.	2— 8
6. Khadmat-gars	1— 4
7. Tax on a/c of establishment	77— 3
8. Tax on a/c of land granted to Chakdars	58— 9
9. Tax ou a/c of apricot trees	10— 0
10. Tax on ponies seized by the State, Nazrana Tax, tax for temples, tax on occasions of marriages in Royal House and Dispensary Tax.	99— 0
Total	293—14

S. No.	Name of the official	RASUM	Rs — As
1.	Tehsildar		12— 0
2.	Tehsildar's Assistant		8— 0
3.	Naib Tehsildar		8— 0
4.	Naib Tehsildar's Asstt.		8— 0
5.	Parcha Navis		5— 0
6.	Mir Choudhri		13— 0
7.	Asstt. Mir Choudhri		11— 0
8.	Mir Zaildar		5— 0
9.	Zaildar		10— 0
10.	Rasad Talbana		25— 0
11.	Blankets taken with		4— 0
12.	Ponies		22— 0
13.	Item for giving permission to pay revenue.		5— 0
14.	Ghi taken		12— 0
15.	Sheep taken		6— 0
16.	Violets, Zira, Guchis		4— 0
17.	Chobi-Kot		21— 0
18.	Wool		12— 0
19.	Grass		8— 0
20.	Share of crop taken by Zaildar		9— 0
21.	Share of crop taken by Choudhri		7— 0
22.	Share of crop taken by Patwari and Lambardar		7— 0
23.	Share taken by police		6— 0
24.	Share taken by Tehsil Establishment		7— 0
25.	Wasil Baki Navis		10— 0
26.	Sihaya Navis		3— 0
27.	Tehsil Treasurer		2— 0

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28. Tehsil Kanungo	4— 0
29. Fowls taken by officials	5— 0
30. Fines not credited to the State	10— 0
31. Miscellaneous	4— 0
Total	270— 0

71. *Ibid.*

72. If a village "occurred from flood or drought or some calamity of the season, no mercy would be shown when the time of collecting the revenue came". *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

73. The table has been prepared from Robert Throp's "Kashmir Mis-government" in S.N. Gadru, (ed), *Kashmir Papers*, (Srinagar, Free Thought Literature, 1973), p. 55.

74. Henvey's Report on Kashmir, *op. cit.*

75. Walter R. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

76. E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, (London, Longman Green, 1893), p. 29.

77. The main recommendations of Lawrence's new settlement were:

(1) The State demand was fixed for 14 years.

(2) Payment in cash was substituted for payment in kind.

(3) Use of force in collection of revenue was done away with.

(4) Occupancy rights were conferred on cultivators in undisputed lands.

(5) Permanent but non-alienable hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment.

(Note: The first land assessment was done by Mr. Wingate in 1887).

(6) All land was carefully evaluated on the basis of the produce, previous collections and possibility of irrigation.

(7) *Rasum*, forced labour and other exactions were abolished and the assets and liabilities of the cultivators defined.

78. Waddari was a kind of money-lending on compound interest. The account was maintained in the ledger in a most complicated manner. The borrower used to pay something every year but the original sum remained intact in his name.

79. From Walter R. Lawrence to Sir Motimar Durand; dated Camp Bijbehara, Kashmir, June 29, 1889, Calcutta Records, *Foreign Department, Secret E*, Nos. 204-208, (K.W. No. 2), (National Archives of India).

80. Out of total population of 814,241, 52216 men were exempt from *begar* because they were Hindus; 4092, because they were Sikhs and 11470, because they were Muslims residing in the city. Walter R. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

81. E.F. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

82. "...and I have seen whole villages bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their Tehsil, and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leaving their homes". Walter R. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 413.
83. E.F. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
84. From Pandit Suraj Koul to Walter R. Lawrence, Calcutta Records, *Foreign Department, Secret E. (Demi-Official), Srinagar June 22, 1889.*
85. *File No. 72/C-57 of 1920* (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
86. *Dagshali* was the department under whose supervision the shawl production was conducted. It also regulated the labour employed by every proprietor of a factory.
87. P.N. Kaul Bamzai, *op. cit.* p. 668.
88. S.N. Gadru, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
90. P.N. Kaul Bamzai, *op. cit.*, p. 699.
91. The credit for introducing the modern education in the State goes to Rev. J.S. Doxy who established the first Mission School in 1881.
92. Mohammad Yousuf Shah, "Musalmanan-i-Kashmir-ki-Taraqqi-karaz", (Lahore, The Ahli-Hadis, January 15, 1926).
93. P.N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, (New Delhi, Kashmir Publishing Co., 122-Kotla Mubarakpur, 1954), p. 136.
94. Statement of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul (witness No. 87). *Written Statements, Part I, Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee, July, 1931*, p. 191.
95. Statement of Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil (witness No. 14), *Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee, Evidence Recorded in Public, 1931*, p. 65.
- Also:
 "the schools and colleges in the State. . .were run largely for the benefit of the Hindus and other non-Muslim communities". R.L. Handa, *History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, (New Delhi, Central News Agency, 1968), p. 249.
96. There were 718 Muslim teachers out of the total number of 2201 and out of 49 Headmasters of Middle Schools only 3 were Muslims; 1 out of 14 Headmasters of High Schools was a Muslim. *Galancy Commission Report, 1932.*
97. G.A. Mukhtar (witness No. 68), *Written Statements Part I (English) Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee, July, 1931* (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1931), p. 233.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *File No. 101/P-102 of 1907, (Government Records) Old English Records* (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
100. *Ibid.*

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101. *File No. 217/P-96 of 1913 Kashmir Government Records* (Old English Records), (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
102. *File No. 124/F-184 of 1915, Political Department* (Old English Records), Jammu and Kashmir States Archives).
103. *Report of the Galancy Commission appointed under orders of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, November 12, 1931*, (Jammu, Ranbir Govt. Press, 1932), p. 17.
104. P.N. Bazaz, *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
105. *File No. 28/HE-15 of 1923, Political Department* (Old English Records), (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
106. *No. 540, March 24, 1924, Ibid.*
107. *Foreign Department, Secret E. No. 726-E, April 1889*, Calcutta Records, 1889, (National Archives of India).
108. P.N. Bazaz, *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
109. From Sir F. Younghusband to the Secretary to Government of India in Foreign Department (Confidential), No. 3719, June 29, 1908, *Foreign Department, Secret I, Proceedings, July, 1908*, (National Archives of India).
110. P.N. Kaul Bamzi, *op. cit.*, p. 706.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Written Statement of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul, Headmaster, Islamia High School, Srinagar (witness No. 87), *Written Statement, Part I, (English), Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee*, July 1931, (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1931), pp. 206-207.
113. *Ibid.*
114. Introduction to the statement given by Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, M.A., H.O.L., B.T., before the subjects committee in the year 1921-22, *Ibid.*, p. 213.
115. *Ibid.*
116. Written Statement of Pirza Ghulam Rasul, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.
119. Introduction to the written statement of Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
120. C.E. Wakefield, *Recollections*, (Lahore, Civil and Military Gazette, 1942).
121. Statement issued by the *ad hoc* Committee appointed by the Kashmiri Pandit Nationalists in Jammu and Kashmir State, (n.d.), p. 7.
122. Statement of Sir Albion Banerji, the Foreign and Political Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State, vide P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
123. *Ibid.*
124. Kashmir Mittra, "Council Regime in Kashmir III", *The Hindus Times*, October 18, 1924.
125. *Ibid.*

126. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.*
128. "Telegram dated Srinagar July 7, 1893, from Huma Shah to Resident of Kashmir", *File 67-1893 (Old English Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
129. On this occasion a few shopkeepers of Zainakadal namely Azim Wani, Sikander Khan and others attended the ceremony of laying foundation stone of the Jamia Masjid. An address written by one Ghulam Rasool Khan was presented to the Englishman who supervised the construction work of the mosque. The Muslims had sent cloth for turban, and bread and sweets for distribution among the masons, carpenters, labourers, supervisors etc. A hat was also gifted to the Englishman, Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *Personal Diary, 1907-1950*, *Manuscript unpublished*, dated May 10, 1916, Item 5.
130. Khwaja Mohammad Maqbool told me (the author of the diary Hafiz Mohammad Ismail) that he (Khwaja Mohammad Maqbool) had gone to Pandit Hargopal's house where the Pandit had shown him the papers about Hara Masjid. He added that those papers revealed that when stones were being lifted from Hara Masjid and carried to the Jamia Masjid, the Pandits had in those days obtained an order from the Maharaja, permitting them to construct a temple there (at Hara Masjid). Khwaja Salam Shah Tehsildar had also written on the papers relating to the land in dispute that since there was no Khalsa land available and a graveyard existed on the land, he had issued the orders for the construction of temple in compliance with the orders already issued by the Maharaja for such construction. *Ibid.*, dated June 17, 1923, Item 1.
131. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1923, item 2.
132. Speech delivered by Khwaja Hasan Shah Panday at Hazratbal on May 8, 1923., *Ibid.*, dated May 8, 1923, item 2.
133. *Ibid.*
134. Pandit Hargopal had brought Sikhs from Baramulla for excavation work of the plinth. *Ibid.*, dated July 5, 1923, item 3.
135. *Ibid.*, dated December 29, 1923, item 1.
136. *Ibid.*, dated May 11, 1924, item 5.
137. *Ibid.*, dated June 28, 1924, item 2.
138. *Ibid.*, dated May 5, 1924, item 5.
Also: In a meeting held in secret at the house of Srikant Dhar, the Pandits had decided to boycott the Muslim shops. *Ibid.*, dated June 15, 1924, item 2.
139. "...While I was on my way to home, I attended a public meeting which was held by Kashmiri Pandits at Soomyar Mandir, Habbakdal, Srinagar. A Punjabi Hindu was delivering the speech. He cast untoward and insalutary remarks on Muslim Kings such as Aurangzeb". *Ibid.*, dated June 23, 1924, item 2.
140. *Ibid.*, dated August 8, 1924, item 3.

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141. *File No. R-59 of 1924, Political Department, Old Government Records (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).*
142. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated August 27, 1924, item 3.
143. *Ibid.*, dated August 26, 1924, item 4.
144. "From the Police Member of the Council of Jammu and Kashmir State to the Foreign Member of the Council, Jammu and Kashmir State vide No. 206 C-P/20-Con-81, dated August 30, 1924" (Confidential) *File No. R-59 of 1924 (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).*
145. Khwaja Mohi-ud-Din, Moulvi Zia-ud-Din and Pir Ali Shah had given this report. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*
147. "Yester at 1 p.m. a few Hindu members of the bar came to me and informed me that one Harnam Das had told them that he had been beaten by Mohammadans at Khanqah-i-Mualla. He added that several Pandits had similarly been beaten by the Mohammadans who had gathered there in thousands at the shrine". (Report of Deputy Inspector of Police *Ibid.*).
148. *Ibid.*
149. "Today the Governor had called both the Mirwaizs, Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khwaja Saif-ud-Din Ganai, Khwaja Gangu, Mohi-ud-Din Kawoosa and Munshi Assad-Ullah to his office. The Governor told me to constitute a Conciliation Board and assured them that the extension made to Thara by the Pandits would be dismantled and compensation for the damages done to the Khanqah shrine would be given and the guilty punished", Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated August 28, 1924.
150. *Ibid.*, dated August 29, 1924, item 3.
151. *Ibid.*, Item 4.
152. "Copy of a telegram dated September 4, 1924, from General Secretary Dharm Sabha Srinagar to the Resident of Kashmir", *File No. R 59 of 1924 (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).*
153. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated September 4, 1924, item 1.
154. The only Muslim member who joined hands with the Pandits on this occasion was Mirza Ghulam Mustafa. There took place a hot discussion on this issue between the Mirza Sahib and Moulvi Zia-ud-Din with the result that the Mirza ultimately left the meeting room. *Ibid.*, dated September 17, 1924, item 1.
155. *Ibid.*, dated September 16, 1924, item 3.
156. *Ibid.*, dated September 17, 1924, item 1.
157. *Ibid.*

Early Socio-Religious Reform and Political Movements

The last decade of the 19th century in the Jammu and Kashmir State witnessed the birth of socio-religious reform and political movements which ultimately brought about a revolution in thought, and in society. The architects of this revolution were influenced by similar movements in British India whose aim was "to lift up Indian society from the abyss of superstition, obscurantism and stagnation into which it had...fallen".¹ Though both the communities of Muslims and non-Muslims were responsible for these movements in the State, it was, however, the latter which had taken the lead. The movements conducted separately by the two communities, to reform themselves, were ultimately to pave the way for a political awakening in the State.

Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj was the earliest organisation to start a socio-religious reform movement in the State as back as the last decade of the 19th century. Recognized by the State, it had established various branches of its office in the two provinces. Primarily a religious reform movement, the Arya Samaj remained confined to Jammu for a long time.² Its proselytising activities were first confined to Sialkot and Jammu. The moving spirit behind the movement were men from outside the State.

They represented two points of view: one, the Arya Samaj point of view, and second, the Sanatani faith.³ Both these schools of thought presented two different currents of views opposed to each other.

Political Character of the Samaj

The political character of the Samaj became visible soon through its political activities⁴ in the Jammu province. It became more visible immediately after the first Non-Cooperation Movement was started by Gandhiji in British India in 1920. The political activities of the Arya Samaj manifested themselves when it called the people to meet in *Sammelans*, organised public meetings and took out processions. The Samaj became, in some cases, "entirely of an extremist political character"⁵. It enlisted membership from the non-official clerks and teachers as well as "many high officials of the State"⁶, and collected subscriptions for the Tilak Fund. Its annual sessions were marked with singing in praise of India, the *Swaraj* and the leaders of the Indian freedom struggle. Its leaders in Jammu preached in favour of "non-cooperation including boycotting schools and renouncing of Government titles...and in some other respects also immoderate and exciting remarks were made".⁷ The special features of its political activities included, therefore, the propagation of the political programme of Mahatma Gandhi in the light of which the Samajists appealed to students to give up colleges and to doctors and lawyers to renounce their services for the cause of the *Swaraj*. Lectures on political themes such as "how to attain the *Swaraj*"⁸ and the like were delivered to the people. Referring to Government's repressive policies, curbing the political movement the leaders would say:

"...the day is coming when the whistling of a Railway engine will be considered political".⁹

The leaders urged the people to act boldly without any fear and exhibit their courage by courting imprisonment.

The Arya Samaj in Kashmir

The Arya Samaj had established a few branch offices in Kashmir

at Amirakadal, Maharaj Gunj and Huzuribagh, Srinagar. But it had long remained confined to non-Muslim Punjabis. The Kashmiri Pandits had not entered its fold for they thought that to become an Arya Samajist was to lose one's faith. But around 1915, a section of the Kashmiri Pandits began thinking in terms of the Samaj movement.¹⁰ To start with, a *Sabha*, namely *Kumar Sabha*, was organized and an application for its recognition by the State was submitted to the Superintendent of Police. But it was rejected on the ground that the Arya Samaj was a seditious body. The *Arya Kumar Sabha* was finally established at Rainawari, Srinagar, as an independent socio-religious organisation based on the *Sanatanist* principle of Hinduism. The *Kumar Sabha* became a "part and parcel of the *Arya Samaj*, Srinagar. Its members were already the members of the Arya Samaj. The *Kumar Sabha* was connected with the Arya Samaj, Maharaj Gunj, for some time and it has been affiliated with the Arya Samaj Srinagar (Amirakadal) which is a branch of Arya Samaj Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, a registered body with the Head office at Lahore, and is enjoying the right of religious preaching according to the Vedas for the last 26 years in the State".¹¹ The *Arya Kumar Sabha* worked as "a part of the great Vedic movement in the Kashmir State".¹² It had the following achievements to its credit:¹³

The Kashmiri Pandits suffered from many social evils which had neither sanction from the Hindu religion, nor could those be allowed by any standard of humanity. The most horrible social evils and practices were the enormous waste of money on marriage ceremonies; the infant marriage, the prevalence of widowhood and other related problems. The *Kumar Sabha* was instrumental in persuading the Kashmiri Pandits to spend moderate amount of expenditure on the marriage ceremonies. Since no marriage could be arranged without a go-between and since no religious rites in connection with marriages could be performed without a priest, the *Sabha* had to encounter opposition from these classes. The reduction of expenditure on marriages entailed naturally a similar reduction of the monies paid to the priests and go-betweens. Besides, the wealthy aristocrats among the Pandit community were opposed to such a reform as they

believed that reduction in expenditure on the marriages of their children would lower their social status.

The *Arya Kumar Sabha* supported the widow-marriages which was in line with the basic tenets of the Arya Samaj.¹⁴ The *Sabha* established Reading Rooms where young Kashmiri Pandits, both educated and uneducated, were invited to read the literature or to discuss various aspects of the Hindu religion and society. As for inter-marriages, these were indirectly favoured by the *Sabha*. The *Sabha* was against infant marriages and dowry system.

Political Character of the Sabha

The political character of the *Sabha* was manifest in that it was in favour of the Swadeshi movement. It propagated use of *Khaddar* for foreign cloth. In 1921, the members of the *Sabha* had come quite secretly into contact with the revolutionary party of Bhagat Singh.¹⁵ Politically the *Arya Kumar Sabha* was a part of the Lahore Arya Samaj. Its political aim was Indianization of everything in the country. It was because of the Arya doctrines that the believers had a deep faith in the Swadeshi ideology of the Indian National Congress.

A majority of the Pandits did not, however, accept the basic tenets of the Arya Samaj. The *Sanatanist* Kashmiri Brahmins did not agree with the *Sabha's* opposition to idol-worship, the *Shradha* ceremony of the dead, and with the *Samaj's* belief in the *Vedas* only and in those *Shastras* which were in strict conformity with the *Vedas*. The result was that the Arya Samaj movement remained confined to an insignificant number of the Pandit community. Moreover, the general body of the Pandits had a great apathy for the Samaj because the Arya Samaj, according to them, was an organisation established and dominated by the Punjabi Hindus whom Maharaja Pratap Singh had been patronizing.¹⁶

The Arya Samaj movement in the Jammu and Kashmir State had been started with the two-fold objectives of proselytisation and political propaganda. Religiously speaking, the Arya Samaj propagated Vedic principles. The leaders of the Samaj preached the supremacy of Vedic religion over other religions.

In their lectures and preachings they did not hesitate to criticise other religions like Islam and Jainism.¹⁷ In 1923 the Arya Samajists were successful in converting a few Punjabi Muslims and one or two Kashmiri Muslims to Hinduism. To challenge Hinduism, learned scholars of Kashmiri Muslims began to hold public meetings at Huzuribagh where they made counter-attacks against the Hindu religion.¹⁸ On the 2nd of June, 1928, Lala Lajpat Rai, in a speech delivered at Huzuribagh, expressed his ideas about the widow-marriage, infant marriages, *Shuddi* and Hindu *Sangathan*.¹⁹ But in their missionary aims the Arya Samaj did not succeed in the State populated by majority of Muslims who could never tolerate any criticism against Islam. The proselytising activities of the Samaj were greatly responsible for the failure of the Samaj to enlist the Muslim support for its political purposes, despite the fact that the leaders of the movement used political slogans such as "Hindu-Musalman ki Jai"²⁰ in order to secure popular support from among Muslim masses. Great efforts were made to bring about a politically united action for the attainment of *Swaraj*. For this purpose the Gandhian ethics of simple living, such as "to leave fashions, lead simple life and to abide by the laws of Virag and Brahmacharya",²¹ was preached to the public. The Arya Samaj was thus bringing the people in line with the mainstream of Indian National Movement. But in its attempt to popularise the movement among Muslim subjects of the State, the Samaj met with failure. As a result, the political character of the movement remained confined to non-Muslims alone. The other reasons for the failure of the Arya Samaj was the antagonistic attitude of the official policy of the State as well as the Government of India. The Chief Minister of the State had been directed by the Maharaja to take strict action to stop the Samaj from convening its *Jalsas* (meetings) because he was not prepared to see any movement of Mr. Gandhi's followers being started in the State-territories.²² The movement could not also succeed in the presence of the Seditious Meetings Act which had been in force in the State since 1914.

Dogra Sabha

The Dogra Sabha, a semi-political organisation of the Jammu province, was founded by Lala Hansraj in 1903. It had an Executive Committee which included a few non-dogra Hindus and Muslim subjects of the State.²³ Its aims and objectives were to help spread of education in the State, to fight for redress of the people's grievances, to bring about mutual cooperation and unity among the different communities living in the State, to fight for the protection of the rights of the State subjects in Government services and to start a social reform movement for eradication of social evils such as infant marriages, the *begar*, prevention of smoking, trafficking in women, etc.

The Dogra Sabha was, in fact, a semi-political body whose members had to be essentially faithful to the person and throne of the Maharaja and his Government. It was concerned more with their own class interests than with the rights and interests of the masses.²⁴ It was, therefore, primarily a body of vested interests of the Dogra oligarchy. A few non-Dogras-non-Muslims and Muslims with similar class interests joined the Sabha from time to time.

Role of the Dogra Sabha

The role of the Dogra Sabha was nothing more than convening its annual session of the Sabha and also such special sessions as it deemed essential for discussing and deciding some matter of urgent nature. It generally conducted its activities in Jammu. It had established its branch office at *Kawaj Adda*, Srinagar (the present Bus Stand of Kashmir Motor Drivers Association).²⁵ But its activities in Kashmir remained limited. It had convened its annual session in Srinagar in 1926. In September, a meeting of the Sabha was held at Pandit Balkak Dhar's house. It was attended, besides others, by Munshi Assad-Ullah, Syed Mohsin Shah, Mohammad Amin Drabu, Sadar-ud-Din Gani, Muzzafar-ud-Din and Kamar-ud-Din Vakil.²⁶ As a result of this meeting, an annual session was held on October 13th, 14th and 15th, 1926 at *Bagh-i-Dilawarkhan*, Srinagar.²⁷ On the 13th of October, a procession was taken out through the fixed routes in the city. One of

the processionists, Kamar-ud-Din, announced to the people that "a public meeting will be held at State High School (Bagh-i-Dilawar-Khan) tomorrow in order to express our loyalty to the Maharaja".²⁸ But the result of this announcement was not appreciable. The three sessions of the Dogra Sabha were almost a total failure. The average attendance of the audience could not exceed more than 200 persons including both Muslims and non-Muslims. It was clear that the Sabha had no popular support.

Many resolutions were passed in the meetings of the Dogra Sabha during its Srinagar session. These resolutions related to such matters as the opening of high and middle schools in villages and towns; the introduction of technical and industrial education in the schools, widening of roads, establishment of fuel depots, raising the age of marriage to 18 years, hospitals, compulsory primary education, allotment of Government contracts to the State subjects and increase in the number of Municipal Commissioners.²⁹

During the 25 years of its career, the Dogra Sabha did not prove a dynamic force in bringing about a politically-oriented revolutionary change among the masses. Its role did not go beyond passing a few resolutions from time to time concerning, no doubt, with the developmental side of the State such as the building of roads, opening of schools and hospitals and pressing for removal of social evils through the State legislation.

The claim of the Dogra Sabha that it was a voluntary organization of all the sections of the population did not seem to be true. So far as the Muslims were concerned, their participation in its activities was not one of free consent and willingness. For the Muslims, an element of fear was a forceful factor for their participation in the Sabha's deliberations and activities. If they did not participate, the Muslims thought, they would be misrepresented as enemies of the Government by the Sabha which was predominantly a Hindu-Dogra organization,³⁰ which worked more in the class interests of these two communities than those of the Muslims. The Dogra Sabha did not rise up to the expectation of the masses. It could not embark upon a revolutionary programme which could have led the masses on to the path of political and economic transformation. Since the

Dogra Sabha pleaded the cause of Dogra oligarchy and upper middle class interests, it could not play the expected role in the general framework of the freedom movement in the State.

Socio-religious movement of Kashmiri Pandits

A socio-religious movement was started by Kashmiri Pandits in the beginning of the twenties of the present century. The beginning was made by two Pandits, namely, Pandit Hari Krishen Kaul and Pandit Vedlal Dhar, who formed an association called *Dharm Sabha*. The aims of the *Dharm Sabha* were to fight for the eradication of social evils prevalent among Kashmiri Hindus; to persuade the Pandits to favour widow-marriage; to help the spread of female education; to fight for the economic betterment of the Pandit community, to reconvert to the Hindu faith those Hindus who professed other religions, and to educate Kashmiri Pandits on the fundamentals of Hinduism³¹

The *Dharm Sabha* had established its office at *Rughnath Mandir*, Srinagar. The meetings of the Sabha were held in the main Hall of the temple. The Sabha had also established an Anglo-Sanskrit School for imparting religious knowledge to the Hindus. Its members were *sanatanists* who believed in *Hindu Dharm* as an everlasting religion. Their main object was, therefore, to propagate Hindu Dharm and help its spread. The Dharm Sabha was heavily dominated by the conservative Hindus led by Pandit Amar Nath Kak. Though there were in it some radical young men also, they had no effective say. Soon differences arose between the conservative majority and the radical minority over the issue of widow-marriage. The conservatives opposed the marriage of the widows, but the radicals under the leadership of Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz strongly favoured it.

Fraternity Society

The formation of the Fraternity Society was the result of continued and unbridgeable differences between the conservatives and radicals in the Dharm Sabha which ended into an open schism towards the third decade of the present century when a

group of radicals, under the leadership of Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, formally established a new association, called the Fraternity Society, at Ganpatyar, Srinagar. The Society continued with the task of social reform. For this purpose it had "enlisted the support of young-blood for the first time and had given to the Pandit community a well-organised group of disinterested and selfless workers".³² The chief architect of the Society, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, had entered into correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi over the issue of widow-marriage. In a letter to Mr. Bazaz, the Mahatma had appealed to the young Hindus of Kashmir that "until they found a widow, they should refuse to marry".³³

Within a short span of its career, the Fraternity Society had worked for reforms which included eradication of all evil customs and practices connected with marriage-ceremonies; exhortations urging upon the mothers-in-law to give just and respectable treatment to their daughters-in-law and to urge upon the Pandit community to recognize the proprietary right of women.

The Fraternity Society with all its progressive outlook and advanced views could not, however, succeed in the achievement of its aims and objectives. The main hindrances in its way were created by the tradition-bound conservative Hindus who formed the majority of the community. But one significant development which was coming to light was the emergence of a new type of leadership which was to play an important role not only for the Pandit community but also for the entire people of the State in its future politics.

Yuvak Sabha

The *Yuvak Sabha* founded by one Pandit Prem Nath Chikan of Zaindar Mohalla, Srinagar, was the most important socio-political organization of the Kashmiri Pandits. The necessity of forming the *Yuvak Sabha* was for reasons non-political in nature.³⁴ The first reason was that a piece of land which originally belonged to the temple *Shival* at Gurubazar, Srinagar, had been illegally occupied by a few non-State subjects—Punjabi Hindus. The Kashmiri Pandits wanted to annex the

land to the temple. A litigation between the Kashmiri Pandits and the Punjabi Hindus had been going on in a court of law for many years. Secondly, many religious places of the Hindus, then in a dilapidated condition, needed to be set right so that, at least *patshalas* could be started there for imparting religious education and instruction to Hindu children in Hindi and Sanskrit. Since it was a non-political body, the Government had no hesitation to sanction recognition to the *Yuvak Sabha*. The Sabha established its office first at Shival's temple but after a short time it was shifted to the house of Lala Ramji Das at Karan Nagar, Srinagar.

During the political disturbances in 1931, the Kashmiri Pandits began to think in terms of a united political organisation. As they could not form any political association without the prior sanction of the Government, they thought it advisable to join the *Yuvak Sabha* because it had already been recognised by the State. The first organization to join the *Sabha* was the Fraternity Society. Soon the other groups followed the lead. The members of the Fraternity Society gave the *Sabha* a definite shape by transforming its non-political character into a political one with a well-thought-out programme.³⁵ The *Yuvak Sabha* became thus a common political forum for all Kashmiri Pandits. A combined leadership of conservatives and radicals emerged which played its role in the freedom struggle of the State.

Aims and Objectives of the Yuvak Sabha

The aims and objectives which the Sabha had set before it were mainly of political nature. In order to realise its objectives, the Sabha had enjoined upon its members to preach these aims and objectives to every male and female of the Pandit community. For this purpose, the political workers of the Sabha were asked to go from door to door, place to place, and temple to temple. Meetings of the Sabha were held in the houses of its individual members or in the temples. Decisions taken at these meetings were then conveyed to the people in a secret way. The aims and objectives of the *Yuvak Sabha* included:³⁶

- (a) Looking after, protecting and pleading the cause and rights of Kashmiri Pandits;
- (b) urging upon the Government to see that the law and order was maintained in the State and helping the authorities in enforcing the same;
- (c) infusing a spirit of patriotism among Kashmiri Pandits and helping the Maharaja in maintaining the State against anti-State elements;
- (d) working for the social uplift of Kashmiri Pandits;
- (e) pleading the cause of female education among Pandits;
- (f) protecting and looking after the religious places of the Hindus; fighting for the restoration of those religious places to Hindu community which had been under dispute for a long time;
- (g) helping the members of the Kashmiri Pandit community find its rightful place and status in the State by means of presenting to the Government their demands through deputations, petitions, memorials and other lawful means;
- (h) preserving and helping the growth and development of Hindu culture, art and religion; and
- (i) striving for a peaceful life in the State. For this purpose, the different sections of its community were asked to create cordial relations among themselves.

The *Yuvak Sabha* as a political organization was born out of political conditions created by the Muslim subjects in the State. It was, therefore, natural for the *Sabha* to assume a political role at least to protect the community's interests against any kind of victimisation. It was this fear of political victimization that made the *Sabha* play a unique role in the struggle for freedom, its main object after 1931 being to safeguard its own class interests as against the mass interests.

Socio-Religious Movements of Muslims

The beginning of the twentieth century brought the Muslim subjects of the Jammu and Kashmir State into the arena of socio-religious and political activities. The fundamental aim of

the early Muslim socio-religious reform movements was to acquaint the Muslim masses with the causes of their stagnation and, therefore, kept them in a state of backwardness for decades together under the rule of autocracies and despotism.

Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar

The *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*, Srinagar was the earliest and the most important socio-religious organization in Kashmir. The *Anjuman* was founded by late Mirwaiz of Kashmir, Moulvi Rasool Shah, in 1905. The main cause of the Muslim backwardness as perceived by the Moulvi lay in their lack of education. In view of this, he established a primary school in Srinagar in 1817 Hijra corresponding to 1889 A.D. After five or six years, the Moulvi with the consultation, guidance and cooperation of some eminent and influential Muslims of the Punjab established an Anjuman, namely, the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*.³⁷ The Anjuman threw membership open to every Muslim without any residential bar. The basic fee of membership of the Anjuman was four annas.

Aims and Objects

The aims and objects of the Anjuman were to facilitate education for the most backward children of the Muslim community and help them in their educational efforts as much as possible, to infuse the spirit of Islam among the people and to inculcate in them good manners, a sense of mutual cooperation and unity.³⁸ Every member of the Anjuman was enjoined to make serious efforts for the realisation of the aims and objects of the Anjuman.

Structure of the Anjuman

The Anjuman consisted of a General Council, an Executive body and various other sub-committees. Matters of general policy and of importance were decided by a majority vote in the General Council. The matters relating to general routine work and the budget were decided by the Executive body. The

sub-committees could be appointed from time to time to report to the Anjuman on matters assigned to them.

Role of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam

The role which the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam played in the Muslim regeneration in Kashmir had begun with the missionary zeal and devotion. The first task before the Anjuman was to persuade the Muslims to take to education by urging 'upon the parents to send their children to the school, which the founder of the Anjuman had already started for the purpose. The school was brought under the direct control and management of the Anjuman, which upgraded it to a High School in four or five years. Many branch schools of the Islamia High School were established in Srinagar and some towns in the Kashmir province.

The Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam published its official journal called the *Halat-O-Rou-i-Dad*. This journal was published every year and it contained very useful information about the yearly activities of the Anjuman. It also contained the speeches delivered at its annual sessions by prominent men from within and without the State. The student participation in such annual sessions was a special feature of the Anjuman's activities.

Religious Ideology of the Anjuman

The religious ideology of the Anjuman was based on the belief of the concept of *Tauheed*. The leaders of the Anjuman preached to the people that God is an Absolute reality without any partner. The concept of *Tauheed* was, therefore, a belief in the unity of one Godhead.³⁹ It was through this concept of *Tauheed* that a spirit of unity and a sense of cooperation was generated among the Muslim masses who had hitherto remained more or less scattered. The Anjuman had, for the first time, provided a common platform to the Muslims of Kashmir to assemble together, at least, once a year.

Educational Role of the Anjuman

The role of the Anjuman in its educational activities was limited in the beginning to the imparting of religious education. But soon the need for introducing the courses of study on modern secular lines was felt by its members. Though secular education was introduced in the schools under its control, yet Islamic theology was retained as a compulsory subject for all the Muslim students.

In their efforts to make educational facilities available to Muslims, the leaders of the Anjuman did not leave a single stone unturned in acquainting the Muslims of Kashmir with the benefits of education. The Muslim leaders thought, "no nation can progress...and...no nation can claim to be civilized until it reaches the zenith of its educational career".⁴⁰ The educational programme of the Anjuman included education both for males and females. The learning of education was, therefore, "a study on every man and woman".⁴¹ The leaders of the Anjuman were aware of the fact that the Muslims of Kashmir had been suffering from many disabilities—educational, social, cultural and commercial. The state of backwardness of the Muslims and their lack of education had lowered them in the eyes of the people outside the State. The Kashmiri Muslims were generally considered to be great liars, especially in their commercial dealings. They had been pocketing such insults quite calmly, without making even a whimper against such insults. They knew that the policy of the State with regard to trade and commerce was defective. The policy of over-taxation was greatly responsible for such a state of affairs. Why was then a Kashmiri Muslim incriminated as a liar? "No part of the world is without liars, but why are you (Kashmiri Muslims) the only people who have become victims of this (phrase)?" asked a leader and then gave the answer himself, "The only reason is that you are not educated and your trade and commerce in this State has no principles."⁴² The leaders of the Anjuman had been, thus, instrumental in transforming the Muslim masses according to the demands of the time.

In order to exist as a community, the Muslims had to be roused from their deep slumber of ignorance and their depen-

dence on others. They had to learn the need and importance of self help and self-confidence, which alone could save them from their degrading conditions and solve their immediate problems. The leaders of the Anjuman had felt the urgency of making the Muslim community stand on its own legs, if at all it had to survive. They warned their co-religionists in the State that in case they did not follow the principles of self-help and self-confidence, none could save them from their fallen conditions. One of their leaders said:⁴³

"Who can save our nation from this deteriorating condition? Neither a king, nor a ruler, nor a *Waiz* (preacher) nor any admonitor, a sympathiser, or a *Rais*...but only self-help can make a nation exemplary. God helps those who help themselves."

Like the leaders of the Indian National Congress, the leaders of the Anjuman made references to the examples of foreign countries of Asia and Europe. The difference between the extremist nationalists of the Indian National Congress and the Kashmiri leaders was that while the former exploited the examples of foreign countries in their political speeches for political purposes, the intention of the latter was different. The Kashmiri Muslim leaders exploited such examples as of Japan, Germany and Switzerland mainly for infusing a spirit of self-help and self-reliance among the trading and commercial classes so that by following in their foot-steps they would be able to make similar progress and advancement in their own state:

"Japan's example is before all of you. Since the second half of the last century, she has abruptly risen from her helpless condition and entered into the ranks of first rate powers of the world. The most powerful countries had to admit her strength. The reason for this is that Japanese make use of their God-given talents."⁴⁴

The Anjuman and Social Reform

The social decadence was also one of the causes of the back-

wardness of the Muslim community in Kashmir. The leaders of the Anjuman had realised that before there could be any improvement in the all round conditions of their co-religionists, it was necessary to carry out social reforms. The leaders had clearly perceived that there was an intimate relationship between social reform and economic progress. Centuries of sufferings had made the Muslims lazy, lethargic and tradition-bound. They had been suffering from various evil social customs. The need was to reform the community so that they were brought to the level of modernism. The man who thought in terms of social reform for Muslims was one Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, an aristocrat, who had taken upon himself the task of reforming the Muslim community as back as 1911.⁴⁵ The Mirza was one of the top leaders of the Muslims during those days. He was an important member of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam. Since he had realised that he could not tackle the task of social reform single-handed, in 1922 he brought the issue before the Anjuman. This gave the Anjuman an opportunity "to think in terms of social reform, and a Social Reform Committee was appointed by it for the purposes of removing social evils from among the Muslims".⁴⁶ At a meeting held on the 5th of October, 1922, the Anjuman decided to prepare a list of all evil customs prevalent in various sections of the Muslim community. The task was assigned to Munshi Assadullah.⁴⁷ Another meeting of the Anjuman was held on the 8th of July, 1923. Among others, the meeting was attended by Sheikh Sadiq Hussain, *Rais-i-Amritsar*. Addressing the meeting the Sheikh said:⁴⁸

"The Waizeen (preachers) should preach in their sermons in every mosque that the people should raise their moral standard by observing the prayers, by keeping the fast and that they should not speak a lie".

Another important step towards social reform was the meeting of the Social Reform Committee, held on the 20th of December, 1925, at the residence of Mirza Ghulam Mustafa. After due deliberations, the following reforms were recommended:⁴⁹

First, the Fatiah ceremony (memorial service for the dead) held on Fridays be abolished.

Secondly, only two dishes of meat and two dishes of vegetables be served to guests on weddings.

Thirdly, the parents of the bride and the bridegroom should give dowry worth 25 to 400 rupees.

Fourthly, only the relatives of the concerned should be invited to a feast on the occasion of the circumcision ceremony; the Barber's fee for performing the circumcision operation should be met by the parents alone and no invitee should be allowed to contribute to it.

Fifthly, evil customs connected with marriages such as sending *Khabars* (paying a courtesy call to the bride and taking gifts in cash or kind) to the in-laws of a daughter be stopped.

The aim of introducing such reforms was to save extravagant expenditure on marriage and death ceremonies. Spending money extravagantly on such occasions had become a habit with the people with the result that the poor had often to borrow money to defray the expenses incurred on such occasions. In order to prevent them from continuing with these evil customs, a programme was chalked out by the Anjuman. Accordingly the members and the *Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir* were directed to preach these reforms to the Muslims at public meetings, in every shrine and mosque at the time of prayer meetings. Also a tract on social reform entitled *Dastur-ul-Amal* was compiled and published under the signatures of the leaders of the Anjuman. The tract was sold to people on payment. The *Dastur-ul-Amal* was, in fact, one of the remedies for economic evils for the Muslims of Kashmir.

Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam and Struggle for Muslim Rights

The struggle for securing to the Muslim subjects of the State their rights, civil and semi-political, formed an important part of the mission of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam after the First World War. By this time the Anjuman had successfully widened its wings over a considerable area in the field of Muslim education. It had turned out a good number of educated Muslims who were expected to play their role for the community's welfare. Towards the beginning of 1920s, the leaders of the Anjuman remained busy in taking up with the Government the

issues related to educational facilities for the Kashmiri Muslims, their representation in Government services, dispute over religious places, share in the law-making body of the State, poverty, etc. In sorting out these issues with the Government, the role of the leaders was always methodical, constitutional and moderate. The methods through which the demands and rights could be realised were deputations, passing resolutions, convening public meetings and preaching in mosques and other religious places.

A meeting was held at the Islamia High School, Srinagar on June 3, 1922, where it was decided that a deputation should be sent to Raja Sahib (Sir Hari Singh) for a discussion about the demands and rights of the Muslims.⁶⁰ As this deputation did not make any headway, another deputation was sent to see the Minister-in-Charge of Education on June 19, 1922. This time the deputationists discussed with the Minister various problems pertaining to Muslim education, deficiency of Muslim teachers in the Department of Education, primary and compulsory education, lack of Muslim representation in Municipal office, the Department of Press and Stationery, and in various other departments of the State.⁶¹ Following these discussions, the Executive Committee of the Anjuman met on August 30, 1922 and passed the following resolutions:⁶²

First, that a list be prepared of all educated Muslims serving in Government offices showing the number of those superseded by non-Muslims. The list was to be sent to the Government.

Secondly, a representation in the form of an application be sent to the Maharaja through Sir Hari Singh mentioning therein the grievances of Muslims about lack of facilities in education, Government services, and release of mosques under the possession of the Government, abolition of *Begar*, and sufficient share in the law-making body of the State.

Finally, a request should be made to the Maharaja to allow a deputation time for expressing its desire verbally.

In the light of the above resolutions, a memorial of demands was sent to the Maharaja. But no action was taken on it. On May 28, 1923, a deputation consisting of Munshi Assadullah, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir Moulvi Ahmad

Ullah Shah, and his brother Moulvi Atiq-Ullah Shah met, through the good offices of Khan Sahib Siraj-ud-Din, the Resident of Kashmir in connection with the annual session of the Anjuman. During the discussion, Munshi Assadullah found an opportunity of explaining to the Resident the conflict over Hara Ma-jid, the economic conditions of the Muslims in the State, the problem of Muslim education, etc.⁵³

While the leaders of the Anjuman were striving for the Muslims' cause, a new emerging group of young educated Muslims with attitudes influenced by western education remained unsatisfied. They belonged to an advanced thought. Their bent of rationality could not agree with the ways and thinking of the tradition-bound, conservative top-leadership of the Anjuman. These young men noticed that the Anjuman had become the personal monopoly of the Mirwaiz of Kashmir, its President, and of his brother Atiq-Ullah, the General Secretary. Besides, the Anjuman had failed to come up to the expectations of the public even though it had been functioning for more than two decades. There was no substantial achievement to its credit. These young men had, therefore, been thinking in terms of some new organisation. They held clandestine meetings from time to time, the first of this kind was held at the residence of Munshi Assadullah on July 24, 1921.⁵⁴ The meeting was attended by almost every educated Muslim, employed or unemployed. The meeting was convened with the aim of forming an association to be called "*Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim-i-Musalmanan*", its aim being to unite the Muslims and work for their welfare. A sum of fifty rupees was also collected from among the persons present at the meeting. A decision was taken at the same time that in order to get this new *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi* registered with the Government, a deputation should be sent to see the Home Minister in this connection. The deputation, when it met the Home Minister on May 5, 1921,⁵⁵ was advised by the Minister that they had better join the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* than form a new Anjuman. This set them thinking what course of action to adopt. The matter was, however, discussed in a meeting held at the residence of Munshi Assadullah on May 27, 1921. The following resolutions were moved in the meeting:⁵⁶

First, if the aims and objects of our Anjuman are incorporated as a part of the aims and objects of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, we shall join the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam;

Secondly, we shall become the members of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, but shall establish, at the same time, a separate Anjuman at least for purposes of assisting the Muslim students financially through scholarships;

Finally, we shall set up a separate Anjuman.

Of the above mentioned three possibilities, the first proposed resolution was passed. In view of this resolution a decision was taken that a deputation be sent to see the General Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam in this connection. Accordingly, a deputation consisting of Munshi Assadullah, Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, Khwaja Mohammad Maqbool, Mr. Ali Shah and Hafiz Mohammad Ismail discussed the matter with the President and the General Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam in accordance with the suggestion given to the former by the Home Minister.⁵⁷ The General Secretary showed some inclination in favour of the deputationists during the discussions. But later on it became clear that the President was not prepared to accommodate the members of the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim-i-Musalmanan* in the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam. The reason given by the General Secretary was that the office of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat did not have enough capacity to accommodate as many as one hundred members of the new Anjuman. He also raised the objection that it was against the rules of the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*, Lahore, to increase the membership of the Anjuman to such a large extent. The General Secretary, however, agreed that 15 of the members of the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim* would be admitted as members of the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*.⁵⁸ The deputationists agreed to this formula. Accordingly, a list of fifteen members was sent to the General Secretary. But nothing positive came out of it. It was on August 13, 1921 that the Mirwaiz declared the impossibility of the two Anjumans merging into one. A decision was taken that all non-Government Muslim employees should form a separate *Anjuman* duly authorised and recognised by the Government. The Anjuman thus brought into existence, began to function separately. It focussed its efforts on the problem

of granting out of its own funds scholarships to Muslim students reading in various schools and colleges in the city.⁵⁹

Failure on the part of the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* to come to an understanding with the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim* was followed by a new development within the ranks of the former. Some of its members wanted to make their *Anjuman* broad-based so that its offices could be thrown open, at least, to the general public of the Srinagar city.⁶⁰ Many attempts had been made to convince the top leaders for this purpose. But this suggestion was rejected by Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, who thought that such a step would be a sheer waste of time. At the same time, a parallel development was in the offing. A few Punjabi and Kashmiri Muslims had been thinking of organising a central (or common) association. They were convinced that since the educated Kashmiri Muslims had failed to mobilize themselves, there was urgent need for a central organization.⁶¹ But this plan could not mature because already an idea had struck Mr. Ghulam Rasul Shah and Mr. Ashai, old boys of the Islamia High School, Srinagar, regarding the formation of some sort of new association. On June 19, 1926, Ghulam Rasul Shah had invited all old boys of the Islamia High School to tea. According to a decision taken at this meeting, a deputation consisting of the Headmaster of the Islamia High School and Ghulam Ahmed Ashai was sent to the Governor of Kashmir to seek his permission for the establishment of an Old Boys' Association. The Governor was clearly told that the Association would have no concern with the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*. The Old Boys' Association was duly inaugurated on December 28, 1930. By this time Mr. Ghulam Ahmed Ashai had become the real moving spirit behind it. The Association had a General Council with all the old boys of the Islamia High School as its members. An Executive Committee of 25 members was also constituted. The Association constituted its rules and regulations, and a monthly subscription fee of four annas was fixed for each member of the Association.⁶² These developments are a sufficient proof that long before 1931, the Muslims of Kashmir had started thinking in terms of public activities. The futility of the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* as an effective socio-political force had become a fact. The new emerging forces could no

longer accept its monopolistic role. The conflict between the old leadership, essentially religious, and the new forces was coming to the surface.

Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam and Ahmadiyas: A Religious Controversy

A religious controversy between the Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid, and the Ahmadiyas affected the prestige of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam and its leaders. Before this controversy reared its head, the Mirwaiz was already involved in the *Hanafi* versus *Ahli-Hadis* controversy over the issue of *Amen-i-Biljihar* which according to the Mirwaiz was not permissible under the Hanafi doctrine.⁶⁰ As a result, a case had been lodged against the Mirwaiz, by the leader of the *Ahli-Hadis* party. As the matter was still subjudice, another religious controversy between the Mirwaiz and the Ahmadiyas which had cropped up in 1923 assumed great dimensions in 1924, when Mirza Kamal-ud-Din, the Head of the Ahmadiyas, who was in Kashmir in July that year, delivered a series of public speeches in which he stressed the need of education and national unity among the Muslims of Kashmir.⁶¹ These speeches made an impression. It was during these days too that Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil publicly expressed his faith in Ahmadiyat, which led to his accusation by Mirwaiz Hamadani that he was misleading the Muslims. Both the Mirwaizeen were anti-Ahmadiyas. This conflict between them and the Ahmadiyas became extremely intense in 1928 when Lord Hadlee, a fresh convert to Islam and known as Haji Farooq, came to Kashmir. Lord Hadlee was accompanied by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and Sir Ali Abbas Beg.⁶² On the 11th of May, 1928, Lord Hadlee made a public speech at Khanqah-i-Maulla in which he exhorted the Muslims of Kashmir to live in peace and unity. Again on the 14th of May, Lord Hadlee addressed a huge public meeting which "was arranged by the *Anjumm-i-Hamdard-Islam* at Huzuribagh".⁶³ This meeting was attended by about five to six thousand people including, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. All the people of rank among Muslims except Mirwaiz Ahmad Ullah Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, and Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, came

to listen to Lord Hadlee. His speech was interpreted into Kashmiri by Syed Mubarik Shah. Lord Hadlee said that he had become a Muslim, not due to any persuasion by any particular individual or any particular community among Muslims but due to his personal study of the Islamic literature. He told the people that he did not belong to any particular sect and advised them again to remain united.

The activities of the Ahmadiyas could not find favour with the Mirwaiz of Kashmir for certain obvious reasons. Hitherto he had been an unchallenged religious leader of the Kashmiri Muslims. If permitted the Ahmadiyas could, with their deep understanding, sharp intelligence and power of argumentation, break the religious hegemony of the Mirwaiz. It was mainly this very fear which forced the Mirwaiz, his brother, Moulvi Atiq-Ullah, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa and some of their close associates to take an attitude of animosity and reactionary policy towards the Ahmadiyas. The Mirwaiz began an open campaign against the Ahmadiyas and called them unfaithful. The Ahmadiyas threw an open challenge to the Mirwaiz inviting him for a discussion at a meeting of the learned and civilized persons.⁶⁷ As it was, no such meeting ever took place. On the contrary, the animosity between leaders of the two parties was taken up by their followers which in time developed into a chronic disease that abnormally affected the future politics of the State. The possibility of unity between the Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid and the Mirwaiz of Khanqah-i-Mualla was destroyed for ever when the followers of the latter invited, in July 1924, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din to deliver a speech at Khanqah-i-Mualla⁶⁸. No invitation was sent to the Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid.⁶⁹ The Muslims of Kashmir were, thus, divided by this time i.e. 1931, into three divisions, each led by the Mirwaiz of Kashmir, the Mirwaiz Hamadani and the Ahmadiyas. In this triangular conflict it was the Ahmadiyas leadership which proved more consequential in the future politics of the State.

By 1931, most of the Muslim intellectuals had become dissatisfied with the role of their leaders. The leadership was not effective, its directions were not coordinated and it was not clear on the goals and purposes it sought to achieve. The

intellectuals had expressed resentment against the hegemony of the Mirwaiz and his associates over the affairs of the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*⁷⁰ and the mismanagement of the Islamia High School. A host of conflicting forces operated in the Muslim leadership, though on most of the major issues concerning the welfare of the Muslims the leaders presented a joint front to the Government. The period from 1920 to 1931 can rightly be termed as *the period of conflicts and compromises*. In such circumstances the possibility of evolving a solid and united leadership to lead the Muslims was very remote.

Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar

The *Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar* was established by a few Punjabi Muslims just after the First World War had broken out. The dynamic force behind this Anjuman was one Babu Mohammad Ibrahim.⁷¹ The aim of this Anjuman was to ameliorate the conditions of the Muslims of Kashmir whose state of existence was extremely pitiable. The Anjuman had an orphanage for free board and lodge for all those parentless children who were admitted to it. It also made arrangements for providing them with education and vocational training.

In order to meet the expenses, the Anjuman collected donations⁷² and membership fee, and issued appeals for financial assistance to all Muslims through the offices of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference.⁷³

Aims and Objects

The primary aim of the *Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam* was to encourage the Muslims of Kashmir in their pursuit for education. It urged upon them to develop the habit of self help by raising funds for this purpose. Stress was laid on the learning of technical and commercial education.⁷⁴ The Anjuman made constant appeals to all educated Muslims in Kashmir, and other men of influence for rendering all possible assistance to the Anjuman in the implementation of its aims and objects. The following were the aims and objects of the Anjuman:⁷⁵

First, to bear all the expenses for burial of the dead bodies

of the Muslim villagers thrown into the mortuary after these were declared heirless or unclaimed by the doctors in the Government hospitals.

Secondly, to grant scholarship worth four rupees per month to those Muslim students who had passed the Middle Standard but could not continue further studies due to poverty.

Thirdly, to help parentless Muslim children in their education and vocation by admitting them to the orphanage established and maintained by the Anjuman.

Role of the Anjuman-i-Hamdard Srinagar

The role played by the *Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam* was significant in many respects. The Anjuman had come into existence as a purely non-political body. Its main concern was to bring about a change in the thinking and outlook of the Muslims of Kashmir so that they would live in unity and cooperation with one another. The lesson in unity and cooperation was taught to the Muslim masses by means of processions taken out from time to time, and public meetings by the Anjuman. Every public meeting, function or a public procession arranged by the Anjuman started with the recitation of the verses from the Holy Quran. This was followed by the singing of religious songs (encomiums) and other poems, reflecting the spirit of brotherhood, patriotism, fellow-feeling, self-sacrifice, and praises for workers of the Anjuman. The supremacy of Islam was emphasized so that the Muslims come to understand the advantages of living in cooperation, peace and harmony. This does not, however, mean that the Anjuman was a communal body. Its secular character revealed itself as its leaders impressed on their coreligionists the need of living in peace and harmony not only among themselves but also "with the people belonging to other religions".⁷⁶ In addition to its reformatory role, the Anjuman, with time, interested itself in political or semi-political activities of the Muslim community in Kashmir. It took part in public activities such as political processions and thereby identified itself with the common cause of the Muslim subjects of the State. The political activities of the Anjuman came to light on the occasion of the Labour rising which took place in the

Government Silk Factory, Srinagar in 1924. The workers of the Anjuman participated in the processions, protest meetings and demonstrations of the workers. As a result of these activities, the President of the Anjuman, Babu Ibrahim, was forced by the Government to leave the State territories whereupon he left for Rawalpindi.⁷⁷ After 1924 the Anjuman began to grow weak.

Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-Wa-Satri-Masturat

*The Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-Wa-Satri-Masturat*⁷⁸ came into existence in 1923 through the efforts of Azad Quraishi, Hakim Mohammad Quraishi and Ghulam Mohammad Alvi. The Anjuman was "purely a religious body. It had no concern with politics".⁷⁹ The chief object of the Anjuman was to acquaint the Muslims in general and those living in villages in particular with the tenets of Islam and also to help them in eradicating social evils prevalent among the Muslims. The Anjuman set before it the following aims and objects:⁸⁰

First, that the Muslims should strictly observe the prayers, that the Muslim women should cover themselves in decent clothes, that is, they should properly cover parts of the body like head and legs.

Secondly, that the Muslims should be instructed both in religious and secular education either through preaching or through schools opened for this purpose.

Thirdly, that all traffic in women should be stopped, that the marriage contracts should be duly registered in a court of law.

Finally, that the Muslim subjects should remain loyal to the Maharaja.

The need for establishing the *Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-Wa-Satri-Masturat* had arisen, according to its founders, due to extreme ignorance of the Muslims living in the villages of Kashmir who did not have the proper knowledge about the basic tenets of Islam. Even the *Mullas*⁸¹ in the villages did not have a proper knowledge about their religion. Most men and women did not wear pyjamas, and the women did not

wear veils. From the point of view of hygiene, most people remained unwashed and shabby. The leaders of the Anjuman undertook a programme of touring different parts of the Valley to explain to the people the basic things about personal hygiene and sartorial decency. At many a place the reformers practically compelled the women to wear payjamas and cover their heads properly. Moreover, the activities included getting bathrooms constructed and urging the people to establish schools for their children. Education, both religious and secular, constituted the most important programme of the Anjuman's policy.

Another problem the reformers took up was that of divorce among the Muslims. This problem had taken a serious turn, affecting especially the women's morals. In many cases a divorced woman fell victim to immoral practices. She was either carried away by woman-traffickers and sold to brothels or fraudulently married by an ill-charactered man who, for purposes of earning money for himself, sold her body to others. These things needed an immediate check.

Often cases of divorce were decided by the *Mullas* and *Muftis*,⁸² and this earned them a good income. Also a divorce case involved the parties in litigation which squeezed them financially. In order to check them, the reformers wanted the Government to pass social legislation making it compulsory to get every marriage contract and divorce-deed registered with a court of law. Such reforms were in favour of State intervention "on lines of the Punjab Government".⁸³

The reformatory mission of the Anjuman was actually criticised and opposed by the *Mullas* and *Muftis* because they feared that in case the State-made laws were made applicable to cases of marriage and divorce, they would be deprived of their income. The opposition became vehement, that the reformers were nick-named as *Yezar Pirs*,⁸⁴ and the reform movement fizzled out of existence. The only political side of the Anjuman consisted in the fact that it believed in and laid stress on Hindu-Muslim unity and loyalty to the Maharaja of the State.

Young Men's Muslim Association Jammu

The Young Men's Association, Jammu, was formed towards the close of 1920s.⁸⁵ It was founded by Hamid-Ullah (advocate), Allahrakha Sagar, Mr. Quraishi, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, Gouhar Abdur Rehman, Editor Mohammad Gauri and Hakim Sahib. The aim was to spread education among the Muslims, and to defend Islam against attacks by men professing other religions. The members of the Association set before them the following aims and objects:⁸⁶

First, to reform the Muslim community in the State and to foster a spirit of cooperation among them;

Secondly, to construct "*Janaza-Gah* and *Sabli-gah*";⁸⁷

Thirdly, to help poor students in their educational career;

Fourthly, to make arrangements for the burial of unclaimed or heirless dead bodies of Muslims;

Fifthly, to work for the maintenance of the *Auqaf* and to construct mosques;

Sixthly, to persuade Muslims to give up bad customs connected with the marriage and death ceremonies;

Finally, to render social service to all people without discrimination on grounds of race or religion.

The Association established an office and a Library. Soon after, the Association got transformed into a full-fledged political organisation. It gave birth to young cadres and trained workers who played a very significant role during the freedom struggle in the State.

Anjuman-i-Islamia Jammu

The Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu, was the oldest of all associations in Jammu. It was a semi-political body. Its mission was to protect the rights of the Muslim subjects, to work for their educational advancement and to free them from social evils.⁸⁸ It organized public meetings at which speeches were made by men of influence and rank. The resolutions passed at its meetings from time to time were sent to the Government for consideration. The Anjuman believed in constitutional methods and

it always pursued the policy of moderation in fighting for its ends.

Impact of Khwaja Hassan Nizami's Socio-Religious Reform Movement

The impact of Khwaja Hassan Nizami's socio-religious reform movement was felt among some of the Muslim majority areas of the Jammu province. In a letter to the editor of the *Munadi*, Delhi, Munshi Mohammad Assad-Ullah of *Bazar Chougan, Burawah* wrote:⁸⁹

"We are happy to learn from the study of the newspapers such as the *Nizam-ul-Mashayakh*, the *Munadi* and the *Dar-wesh* that your revered-self is busy in serving the interests of the Muslims...Your movement has begun to influence the Muslims of this place. Most of them have decided not to celebrate *Chati*."⁹⁰

The Muslims of Burdwah established an association, called the *Shabab-ul-Muslimin*, to implement the general aims of Khwaja Hassan Nizami's Movement. Inspired by the Khwaja's movement, the Muslims of Poonch established a social reform committee at Plandari, to work for social reform and help the spread of education among the Muslims of Poonch. They felt that the "Muslims of Poonch were far behind their coreligionists in other parts of India in education and culture".⁹¹ The committee established a reading room to develop among the Muslims the habit of newspaper study which they thought might create an interest for education in them (the Muslims). Many prominent Muslims of Poonch were members of the Committee. The Nizami movement was, therefore, responsible to some extent for bringing about a social consciousness among the Muslims.

Early Political Movements

The early political movements in the Jammu and Kashmir State were an expression of a deep resentment against the legitimacy of political control and the limit of power exercised on

the unwilling people who had been forced to adjust themselves to the rule of autocracy imposed on them. In that forced adjustment the people had no sense of belonging. Deprived of even the elementary rights of humanity, they were subjected to various forms of oppression. But as things became more and more unbearable the people could no longer be repressed. They fought a number of times for their rights through constitutional and peaceful methods. Sometimes they took to direct demonstrations and even to direct action. But every time they were forcibly kept down. They had been purchased and so they had forfeited their right to free life and, therefore, to revolt.

Resistance of the Tribals of Gilgit and Kashmir

Resistance to the Dogra rule was, however, shown by the freedom-loving people of the frontier areas in Gilgit at the time when Maharaja Gulab Singh launched a military expedition against Gilgit. The Dogra forces were defeated by the valiant heroes of Gilgit under the command of Gouhar Rehman. Another military expedition against Gilgit was launched by Maharaja Ranbir Singh. He brought Gilgit under control, but could not "win the hearts of the people"⁹² there. Soon after the people retaliated by resorting "to guerilla tactics under the leadership of Malik Aman".⁹³ The Dogra soldiers underwent great losses and sufferings in Yasin, despite the fact that the Dogra Subedars had carried a general massacre of men, women and children in the Fort of Yasin.⁹⁴ The people of the frontier areas were, however, brought under complete subjugation with the support of the British military.

A similar resistance was demonstrated by the people of Hazara, Rampur and the Gunmakers of Srinagar,⁹⁵ at the time when Gulab Singh sent his troops under Wazir Lakhpat to take over the charge of the Kashmir Valley from the then Governor, Sheikh Imam ud-din who had already declared his independence.⁹⁶ In an encounter the Sheikh defeated the Dogra forces with the popular support. The dynamism behind the resistance came from the wife of Sheikh Imam-ud-Din.⁹⁷ With the support of well-organized British soldiers the people's resistance was, however, crushed as in the case of Gilgit.

The First Labour Rising in Kashmir

The first ever Labour rising of its kind was organised by the Shawl-bafs in 1865 in the city of Srinagar. The motive forces behind the rising were the miserable economic conditions of the weavers of the Shawl-industry in Kashmir. These weavers were the lowest paid industrial working class, and were subjected to inhuman treatment by their employers and the corrupt officials of the *Dagshali*.⁹⁸ The immediate cause of the labour-rising was an oppressive measure adopted by the Head of the *Dagshali*, Pandit Rajakak Dhar, "who was supposed to recover and pay to the State twelve lakhs of rupees".⁹⁹ As the taxation policy of the State was managed in such a way by the employers that its greater burden fell on the weavers. The weavers were to pay 49 rupees each as a contribution towards the sum of 12 lakhs of rupees to be paid to the State. An ordinary weaver had, thus, to pay five rupees in tax out of his monthly income which ranged from seven to eight rupees. This intolerable policy forced them to unite and present a petition of their grievances to the Governor. On April 29, 1865, the Shawl-weavers marched in a body, towards *Zaldagar*. The processionists uttered slogans, expressing their demands. They also burnt the effigy of Rajakak Dhar. They were ordered to disperse, but they refused. Troops were then sent under the command of Colonel Bijoy Singh to crush the procession. They came down upon the unarmed and unguarded labourers who were "surrounded and then charged with guns and spears. After some deaths, the procession ran towards the bridge of Haji Rather and most of them (after they were pursued by soldiers) fell into the marshy canal and got drowned. Hundreds of workers suffered minor and major injuries and at last twenty-eight dead bodies were returned to the people by the army".¹⁰⁰ As a consequence, the leaders of the rising were arrested and then beaten mercilessly, strapped and thrown into a dungeon. Two of the leaders, namely, Abli Baba and Sheikh Rasool, died from these atrocities, and two brothers, Qudda Lala and Sona Shah, were sent to be imprisoned in the Babu Fort. Hundreds of the agitators were arrested and imprisoned in the prison of

Habak,¹⁰¹ where most of them died from cold and starvation. The rising was suppressed.

Peoples' Protest against Food Crisis

The food crises in the past were mainly caused by floods which brought heavy destruction to life and property in the State. In 1903, there was a sudden rise in the prices of food-grains which created a panic in the city of Srinagar. "On 15th of October, 1903, shops were closed and some little damage was done; but the mob was easily dealt with and the ring leaders were arrested and punished".¹⁰² A similar crisis arose in the wake of the First World War when there was a steep rise in prices throughout the world, including the State. In 1918, the price of paddy rose exorbitantly high. The Governor of Kashmir fixed, under the orders of the Maharaja, the price at 4 rupees per *Kharwar*.¹⁰³ Since the people could not afford such a high price, they requested the ruler to grant reduction in it. But the State took no action. As a protest against this indifference, "the people nearly made hunger strike. They refused to draw their ration on the ration cards".¹⁰⁴ But even this did not avail. On the 19th of June, 1921, the women of the city launched a demonstration, many of them carrying their children to the Maharaja. They protested against the food policy of the Government, and made it clear to the Maharaja that "they did not draw the rations"¹⁰⁵ because of their acute financial troubles. All these protests went in vain. However, the Maharaja appointed a *Shali-Board*¹⁰⁶ consisting of both official and non-official members, with Raja Hari Singh as the President. The *Shali-Board* functioned through two bodies, the Executive body and the Managing Committee. The Managing Committee consisted of seven members including its President, Mr. Hadoo Bisco.

The function of the Board was to discuss the causes of the food scarcity, to find the means of procuring greater quantities of paddy and to distribute the same among the people. But the *Shali-Board* did not succeed in its purpose. The problem was ultimately solved by Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, who was on a visit to Kashmir those days. On his

recommendation, Mr. Gallancy, an ex-Resident of Kashmir, was appointed to take charge of the Food Department. Mr. Gallancy abolished the *Shali-Board*, set the Department of Food on modern lines and in a position to bring the crisis under control.

Khilafat Movement in Jammu and Kashmir State

The Khilafat movement in Jammu and Kashmir was a part of the Khilafat Movement which the Indian Muslims had started in the early 1920s by way of protest "to bring pressure upon Britain to change her policy towards Turkey".¹⁰⁷ On the 15th May, 1920, two days after the announcement of the terms offered to Turkey, Gandhiji issued a statement urging upon the Muslims of India to adopt non-cooperation as the only effective remedy for the wrongs done to Turkey by the Allied Powers. The Central Khilafat Committee accepted Gandhiji's advice and it adopted non-cooperation as the only practical action. Soon the whole of India was seen vibrated with the Khilafat Movement.

Despite the ban on public meetings in the state those days the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir also organised the Khilafat agitation. Some leading and influential persons in Jammu city persuaded Imams of the various mosques "to declare Jihad in their waiz after prayers as is being done all over India in connection with the Khilafat movement".^{107a} Decisions were also taken by such persons regarding holding of Khilafat meetings on March 14, 1920, and to observe fast and hartal on March 19, in accordance with the decision taken by the Central Khilafat Committee in India. In a meeting held on March 13, 1920, at Islamia School Boarding House, Jammu, the following resolutions were passed:^{107b}

First,... "a fast should be observed on the next Friday (the 19th March, 1920) and hartal made by the Mohammadans.

Secondly, "that arrangements be made to move the different Imams to declare the same to all the Mohammadans in their Waizes and to impress on their audience the necessity of Jihad at this juncture as has been done all over India."

Batches of persons were also arranged to move the various leading Imams and persuade the shopkeepers, Tanga and Tum-

Tum wallas, Gadda-wallas, vegetable sellers, confectioners and Khatiks to stop work on March 19. These batches worked with great promptitude and secrecy.^{107c} The Khilafat meetings were held in mosques. On March 15, 1920, 200 to 250 Mohammadans attended a "Naat Khani" majlis in the mosque Talab Khatikan, Jammu. Many prominent persons were also present there. After *Naat Khani* the question of Khilafat was started by Alla Dita Siraj. Mohammad Basharat, an official of Revenue Minister's office and Mohammad Sayad of Home Minister's office delivered short speeches regarding the Khilafat movement. Mohammad Sayad in his speech reminded the audience of their past greatness and compared their "present trodden condition". He said that "Mohammadan nation is doomed to death, if the followers of Islam do not rise to the occasion and cannot maintain their Khilafat and the holy places which have been occupied by foreigners".^{107d} The Khilafat agitation in Jammu province remained confined to the Muslim subjects though some Hindus wanted to sympathise with the Mohammadans on March 19, 1920. But the Hindus did not actively participate in the movement as was done in British India. In Kashmir province, in the beginning the Khilafat meetings were organised in mosques during the prayer hours. One Babu Mohammad Ibrahim of the Medical Hall, Srinagar, persuaded, as early as March, 1920, the Mohammadan shopkeepers of Maisuma Bazar to observe mourning day on the 19th March, 1920.^{107e} The *Imams*¹⁰⁸ of the mosques and other learned persons made speeches at the meetings held in mosques, prayers were offered for the victory of the Muslim armies and for the success of the Caliph of Turkey. The Christian powers were termed the enemies of Islam and, as such, they were cursed and reproached. At every meeting the people were informed about the programme for the next meeting.¹⁰⁹ The Khilafat agitation assumed popularity in a very short period.

The mass character acquired by the Movement made it imperative for the leaders to shift the venue of Khilafat meetings from the confines of mosques to the public arena. The first mass meeting of this kind was held at Id-gah,¹¹⁰ Srinagar, on August 1, 1920. The meeting was attended by about twenty thousand people and was presided over by Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf

Shah who belonged to the Deoband school of thought. In addition to the President, the main speakers who addressed the gathering were Syed Mubarik Shah Andrabi and Babu Qamar-ud-Din, the latter being the founder of the movement in Kashmir.¹¹¹ In their speeches, the speakers highlighted the important features of the movement. The designs of the British imperialism were fully exposed. As Babu Qamar-ud-Din spoke of Islam being in danger, the audience began to weep loudly. They shouted anti-British slogans and raised the cry "Allah-o-Akhbar" (God is great).

On August 5, 1920, at 5 p.m. another mass meeting of about 1000 Mohammadans was held at Nawa-Kadal. About 30 to 40 Hindus were also present among the audience. Short speeches were delivered by M. Ghulam Mohammad, Pir Ali Shah, Syed Mubarik Shah, Pir Mohe-ud-Din Quraishi, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Ghulam Hussain Punjabi, Head Master Islamic High School, Srinagar, Abdul Khaliq Deobandi, M. Qamar-ud-Din and P. Amar Nath Raina. The main theme of the speeches delivered was that "Mohammadans were at present in the worst condition and that they have been deprived of sacred shrines which were under control of Khalifas".^{111a} Besides a collection of Khilafat Fund of Rs. 25 to 30 on spot, the following resolutions were passed in the meeting:^{111b}

- (1) To send a telegram to the Indian Khilafat Committee "to the effect that the Kashmiri Mohammadans have got sympathy with their cause";
- (2) To send a telegram to H.E. the Viceroy that conditions made relating to Khalifa might be improved; and
- (3) To send a telegram to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, informing him that the Mohammadans should be given freedom in Islam.

At every public meeting held in connection with the Khilafat agitation, funds were collected on the spot and the money was sent to the Punjab Khilafat Committee.¹¹²

Those who had started the movement in Kashmir belonged to the extreme views. The chief organisers attracted the attention

of the authorities and were being kept under strict watch and vigilance.

The popularity of the movement made the Government alert. The authorities took serious note of every thing that was going on. From the very beginning the police constables were instructed to search for and remove the notices pasted by the Khilafatists and to keep a good look-out for persons pasting up notices of any kind. Intelligent police officials were deputed to the Railway Station at the time of arrival of all trains to watch if any bundles of objectionable literature were brought in and, also, deal with persons who might be in possession of such literature or notices as they might deem fit. Reliable Mohammadan police officials were instructed to attend the principal mosques of the city in plain clothes at prayer time daily and report movements.^{112a} The Khilafat movement in Kashmir was regarded by the British as the misguided movement. In order to put a check to the movement the Resident in Kashmir wanted some counter propaganda to be started by influential local Mohammadans by means of dissuading persons from going on with the movement.^{112b} Under the British directions the chief activists of the movement had been warned by the state authorities that if disloyal or seditious speeches were ever made or if the people were worked up to undue excitement which rendered action necessary they would be the first to be proceeded against. The Home Minister played a foxy game to kill the movement. He called to his office the leaders and some influential persons among Muslims and instructed them to announce to the public that there was no disturbance in the state, and that all Muslim subjects of His Highness lived in peace and harmony. The leaders were also asked to prepare a memorandum mentioning therein that there was no trouble to the Muslim subjects in Kashmir.¹¹³ Accordingly the memorandum was prepared. But when the news of the memorandum got leaked, the Muslim masses became very furious. Resentment was expressed especially against the attitude of the Mirwaiz of Kashmir. Some shopkeepers of Zaina-Kadal even sent a word of warning to the Mirwaiz. But the Mirwaiz denied the charge of having signed the memorandum.¹¹⁴ Thus, while on the one hand efforts were being made by the Government to sow dissension in the move-

ment, the Khilafatists were, on the other hand, being strictly watched by the state authorities and the agents of the Government of India.¹¹⁵ The Governor of Kashmir had gone to the extent of warning the chief organisers of the movement either to stop the agitation or to face the consequences. He had also taken a decision that "if worst comes to worst we can expel a person like Kamar Din from the State territories which is an ordinary thing. This action does not require any legal support and on the other hand will at once put a stop to all this nuisance".^{115a} By direct and indirect means the Government was, however, able to kill the movement in Kashmir.

The Khilafat Movement was a landmark in the history of the people of Jammu and Kashmir state. The movement, a part of the Khilafat movement started in British India under the guidance and direction of Mahatma Gandhi, enabled the Muslims of Kashmir for the first time to identify themselves with the mainstream of the Indian freedom struggle. The slogan of "Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai"¹¹⁶ shouted by Muslim masses for the first time in Kashmir was a clear proof. However, the movement did not last long. After a short span of seven months, the movement fizzled out. The reasons for its sudden death may be summarised as under:^{116a}

First, the Government employed all kinds of repressive measures to suppress the movement. Following measures for stopping the movement and ensuring peace and tranquillity in the State were adopted by the Government:

- (1) "Holding of mass meetings with the exception of purely religious ones may be totally stopped;
- (2) "Severe warning be conveyed by the Governor of Kashmir to the three prominent ring-leaders as preliminary measure;
- (3) "The Judge High Court was to advise the Durbar after consultation as to if any other law or regulation was necessary to be enforced in addition to the Seditious Meetings Act which had already been in force in the state;
- (4) "The question of proscription of certain publications of objectionable character or expulsion of undesirable

persons was to be held in abeyance for the present till the effects of the stoppage of meetings on the public mind was fully gauged;

- (5) "The stoppage of the meetings was to be applied to the whole state simultaneously; and
- (6) "No new society or club was to be formed without the previous sanction of the Durbar as orders already stand".

The agitation was, however, ultimately brought to an end by fully employing the Seditious Meetings Act passed in 1914 to ban the Khilafat meetings.

Secondly, the reactionary role of the Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid, his brother Moulvi Atiq-Ullah and their associates was also responsible for the debacle of the movement. It surprised the people to learn of the traitorous role played by the Mirwaiz who fully supported the Government, advising it to arrest the Khilafat leaders, who, he considered, were rebels.¹¹⁷ In a meeting with the Governor of Kashmir, held at his office on September 1, 1920, the Governor of Kashmir, was told that the Khilafat agitation was not a religious affair; that the Khilafatists were only a few trouble-makers. They unanimously suggested to the Governor to ask Babu Qamar-ud-din to furnish security because "he was the originator of the trouble".¹¹⁸

Thirdly, the services of some Government officials were also used to persuade the individual leaders of the movement to abandon the agitation. Orders banning public meetings were issued and got signed by the agitators. Even the office of the Resident of Kashmir was used to persuade the active workers to keep aloof from the movement. The policy of the Government of India too was responsible for the failure of the movement.

Lastly, the most important reason why the movement petered out without leaving an impress behind was the total aloofness of the non-Muslims, from its activities.^{118a} It is surprising that while in the British Indian subcontinent both the Hindus and Muslims had made a common cause of the Khilafat movement against the British, the movement in Kashmir remained confined to the Muslims alone. Had the non-Muslims joined the movement,

possibly a secular national movement in Kashmir would have emerged much earlier than it actually did.

The Labour Rising of Silk Factory, Srinagar (1924)

After the Khilafat movement, the labour rising of the Silk Factory marked another important milestone in the people's history of Jammu and Kashmir. The Khilafat agitation had already infused a spirit of mobility in the Muslim masses of Kashmir. This spirit of mobility was evinced by the workers of the Government-owned Silk Factory in their struggle against socio-economic grievances.

The workers of the Silk Factory had constantly been complaining against the "insufficiency of wages, the corruption of the officials and the tyranny of the inspecting staff"¹²⁰ The contention of these labourers was that, in addition to their low wages, they were insulted by the officials who demanded bribes and made them work at their houses like domestic servants. They also complained that they were marked absent from duty for half a day if they reached the factory a little late. They demanded a just treatment and an increase of wages.¹²¹ In order to cause the authorities to meet their demands, the workers of the factory struck work for many days in July, 1924. Their programme of action included the holding of meetings and taking out of processions. On the 12th of July, 1924, the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* convened a public meeting to pray to God for the welfare and good health of Raja Sahib (Hari Singh) who was confined to sick bed. On the same day, the labourers of the Silk Factory took out a procession with a view to joining this public meeting. No untoward thing happened, and the Government took no action against the processionists. On July 19, the Government stationed troops at the compound of the Silk Factory and fixed machine guns at the Shergarhi, the official secretariat of the State.¹²² This action taken by the Government was simply meant to prevent the workers from taking out a procession according to their scheduled programme so that they should not join the public meeting which was to be addressed the same day by Khwaja Kamal-ud din, the Head of the Ahmadiya community. But the labourers had already

changed their mind, and, instead had gone in to attend their duty. But when they saw the troops alert with guns, they were shocked. The presence of the troops in the Factory was a sufficient provocation. They assembled together and challenged the action of the authorities. Soon an open confrontation ensued between them and the armed troops. Within a jiffy, the Kuth Parties from 2nd Kashmir Rifles opened fire on the labourers, as a result of which "seven workers died and forty were injured".¹²³ No sooner did the police open the fire than the people came out of their houses and joined the workers. Throngs of people gathered together on the western side of Huzuribagh near the Police Station and offered themselves to the authorities on duty for their arrest. But the Revenue Minister tackling the situation asked the people to disperse. But the people remained adamant. Then the Revenue Minister read out an order to them twice, again warning them to disperse. Seeing that the people did not obey, the Minister ordered the troops to attack and fire. About two hundred cavalry soldiers armed with spears and guns were let loose on the defenceless people. Several were killed, many were injured and some women were disrespected. The corpses of those killed were carried away by the sepoy. The injured were taken to the Mission Hospital by the people.¹²⁴ The military action generated an atmosphere of hysteria. Everybody was awe-stricken. The entire city was handed over to the military who patrolled it in trucks, and the situation became calm as if nothing had happened. Twenty-two labour leaders were arrested and kept under detention. The people were ordered to keep the peace. The Government instructed the Mirwaiz to announce to the public to stop their agitation. When this instruction was conveyed to the people by the Mirwaiz in his speech at Hazratbal on July 22, 1934, the people defied him, saying; "Our hearts ache at what we have seen with our own eyes".¹²⁵ Similar instructions were given to other leading men to be followed by them and their co-religionists for the maintenance of law and order in the State.¹²⁶ Though outwardly there was perfect calm, the Muslims were extremely displeased with the Government. The labour leaders under detention were tried, and on September 19, 1934, the judgement was pronounced at the Central Jail,

Srinagar. Fifteen of them were awarded six months' imprisonment while seven were set free.¹²⁷ A partial *hartal* was observed by the Muslim shopkeepers in the city as a protest against the judgement. Thus ended the labour revolt.

Evaluation

The labour rising of 1924 was primarily an attempt on the part of the labourers of the Silk Factory to get their economic grievances redressed. Since their requests and pleas had gone unheeded, they had resorted to peaceful and non-violent demonstrations to make the authorities see the urgency of their needs and demands. But the Government had misunderstood and misinterpreted the whole labour trouble. Two chief allegations were lodged by the Government against the labourers as well as the Muslim community. The first allegation was that the labourers had broken the law for which they had been so severely punished; and the second allegation was that the Muslims had made a communal issue of the labour trouble.¹²⁸ But nothing was said about the miserable conditions under which these wretched labourers lived their life. The Government had unfortunately been moved to act on the information furnished by agencies that had misrepresented the labour unrest. The majority of the officials of the Silk Factory were non-Muslims. They had wanted to divert the attention of the Government from the real cause of the trouble. This they had done to save their own skin. The blame for the unrest was put on the young educated Muslims who, it was made out, had wanted to create trouble in the State.¹²⁹ Even the British agents in the State were informed that the Muslims were in possession of cartridges. The Muslims were mistrusted as communalists. It was on these grounds that the Government justified its action against the labourers saying that it had become essential "to save the peace-loving subjects (non-Muslims) of the State".¹³⁰ As a matter of fact, the Muslims in general and the labourers in particular never behaved in a communal manner. They had simply wanted fulfilment of their demands which were legitimate from every point of view.

The way the Government tackled the labour problem of the

Silk Factory was criticised both within and without the State. The local Khilafat Committee, Lahore, convened a meeting in this connection on August 13, 1924 under the presidentship of Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Qasuri. The Committee demanded the appointment of a Commissioner of Inquiry "to investigate into the real cause of the affairs and circumstances which had compelled the Government to open fire on peace-loving and innocent labourers".¹³¹ The Committee condemned the action of the Government. But the Government did not appoint any commission to inquire into the incident. It was strange on the part of the Editor of the *Ranbir*, Jammu, to have minimized the importance of this great historical event. Justifying the action and the policy of the Government, the editor wrote that the labour trouble occupied an ordinary place in the field of battle so vast as the world.¹³² The way the Muslim labourers were suppressed made the entire Muslim community believe that so long as the Government were not willing to concede their rights, the Muslims had to suffer.

Memorandum to the Viceroy of India, 1924

A memorandum presented to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Reading, in 1924 was another important event in the annals of the freedom struggle in the State. The suppression of labour rising only a few months before had, no doubt, disappointed the Kashmiri Muslims but they had not lost all hope. Immediately after the end of the labour rising, they started to think in terms of fighting for their demands and rights in an organised manner. This gave some leading public men the idea of forming an association.¹³³ An *Anjuman* was unofficially formed with the consent of the Resident of Kashmir "who had prepared the Muslims for presenting a memorandum to Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India".¹³⁴ Accordingly a memorandum was framed at the house of one Abdul Aziz, Zaildar, at Khanyar. It contained the following demands of the Muslims:¹³⁵

- (1) "Proprietary rights in land should be granted to the tenants, as these had been forcibly snatched away from them.

- (2) "Muslim representation in the State Council should be according to their ratio in the population.
- (3) "In order to give Muslims effective representation in the Services, all future vacancies be made available to them and in case Muslims with requisite qualifications were not locally available, Muslims from outside Kashmir be appointed till such time as the local talent was available.
- (4) "To weed out corruption from Services which had exceeded all limits, an impartial tribunal be appointed to inquire into these complaints and award punishment.
- (4) "Since agriculture was the principal occupation of the people, the Governor of Kashmir valley should be a Muslim and if Muslims of requisite qualifications are not available, some Englishmen may be appointed to the post. Similarly Muslims should be appointed to important posts such as the Superintendent of Police, the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Customs, etc.
- (6) "The cases registered against labourers of the Silk Factory be made over for trial to a tribunal which should consist of at least two law-knowing and impartial judges, one of whom must be a European.
- (7) "Since the entire labour force of the Silk Factory consists of Muslims it is essential that the latter be appointed to higher administrative posts in the factory.
- (8) "The Department of Shali (rice) should be liquidated and the restrictions, imposed on the import of food-grains from outside the State, be removed. In order to reduce the burden on the peasants who had to pay the revenue in the form of Shali, food rationing in Srinagar be restricted to poor people only.
- (9) "A Muslim or European expert on education be appointed to look after Muslim education. Compulsory free primary education be introduced and the same be initiated from Srinagar city. Muslims be recruited both as teachers and Inspectors in greater numbers and sufficient number of scholarships be made available to them for higher education in India and abroad.

- (10) "Free forced labour should be completely abolished and replaced by contractual labour.
- (11) "The lands that had been forcibly and illegally seized from Muslims and awarded to non-Muslims, should be restored to their respective owners.
- (12) "An elected Legislative Assembly which should also work as a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of a Constitution for the State, be set up immediately. Muslim population must be kept in view while granting representation to the various communities.
- (13) "The Government contracts, particularly those relating to forests, roads and construction, should be granted to State nationals in general and to Muslims in particular.
- (14) "The Mosques and other religious properties which are in possession of the Government be immediately restored and steps be taken to ensure that Muslim religious places and graveyards remain protected from future encroachment by non-Muslims.
- (15) "A cess of six pies per rupee charged with the land revenue from Muslims for the repairs of Jamia Masjid Srinagar be made permanent provided half of it is spent on the repairs of other historical shrines and the other half on the advancement of their education; Provided further, a Board consisting of Muslims is constituted to administer the fund.
- (16) "A Commission composed of impartial European officers be appointed to inquire into Muslim grievances regarding the Zuljinnah procession, the incident at Khanqah-o-Shah-i-Hamdan and those relating to Islamabad and Baramulla.
- (17) "Since the rights of Muslims are insecure and are trampled under by the local authorities, the Resident of Kashmir be made answerable for their plight".

The memorandum was signed by the leading men of the Muslim community of Kashmir.¹³⁶

The Viceroy, Lord Reading, left Simla for Kashmir on the 11th of October, 1924. The Viceroy was "accompanied by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, Sir Geoffery De

Montemorency, Private Secretary, Mr. R.B. Worgan, Military Secretary, Leut. Colonel, J. Norman Walker, Surgeon, Capt. H.L. Mostynonwn, A.D.C., Capt. J.F.H. Combe, A.D.C., and Capt. D.B. Daly, A.D.C."¹³⁷

Maharaja Pratap Singh sent the following telegram to the Viceroy when His Excellency entered the territories of the Jammu and Kashmir State:¹³⁸

"I like this opportunity of welcoming most cordially Your Excellencies to my State. I feel proud and greatly honoured by Your Excellencies undertaking a long journey at great personal inconvenience to visit my summer capital. I earnestly hope Your Excellencies will have had a most comfortable journey to Domel, and that all arrangements in Camp will be found satisfactory. Am eagerly looking forward to the pleasure of meeting Your Excellencies."

The heir-apparent, Raja Sir Hari Singh, went personally to Uri, a place 63 miles from Srinagar to offer his welcome to the Viceroy. The Maharaja received their Excellencies at Shalteng. A grand reception had been arranged by the State. A huge amount of "about a lakh of rupees for the purpose of entertaining the august guests"¹³⁹ had already been sanctioned by the State for the purpose.

On the 14th of October, 1924, at 2.30 p.m., a salute of 31 guns from the Hari Parbat Fort, announced the arrival of the King's Representative and party at the other end of the city. As per programme, the Viceroy was taken out in a river procession from Shalteng. Thousands of men, women and children had lined up the banks of the river Jhelum to greet their guest. School boys and college students with their teaching staff had been placed on duty to welcome the Viceroy. As a mark of protest against the discriminatory treatment accorded to them in the State, the Muslims had planned a black flag demonstration. Already they had decorated the Sultan Khana of the Khanqah-i-Shah Hamadan with a big black curtain which the authorities on duty there got immediately removed.¹⁴⁰ No sooner did the motor launch of the Viceroy reach the *ghat* of the Khanqah Shrine than some ten

to fifteen persons from among the people put black turbans on their heads. This was instantly followed by the Muslim masses shouting slogans "*Faryad, Bidad*", i.e. help us and give us justice. The noise made by the shouting people was so loud that it deadened the drums played by the school boys. As the procession moved onwards, the people followed the Viceroy's motor launch along the river bank, repeating the slogans. When the procession reached the *ghat* of Mala Lasu, a big banner was unfurled by the Muslims carrying in bold letters the words, "Tyranny, Desecration of the sacred places, British Protection".¹⁴¹ The Muslim masses then moved on to assemble at the Residency grounds where the viceregal party was to be put up and lodged. When the mob reached the Residency grounds, it was treated to the batons and kicks of the police.¹⁴² But under the circumstances the demonstration was a unique event in itself. In due course of time, the memorandum was presented to the Viceroy in an extremely dramatic way.

Consequences of the Memorandum

The consequences which followed the presentation of the memorandum to the Viceroy proved too heavy for the Muslims. The Government took a very severe action against the authors of the memorandum. Investigations were soon started to identify those who had participated in the protest and demonstrations to the Viceroy against the ruler. In order to identify the participant demonstrators, the Governor of Kashmir issued an order which required the Muslim population of various Mohallas (localities) to present themselves according to the date specified in the order, at Huzuribagh. The boys of the schools and their teachers on duty on the day when the demonstrations had taken place, were also ordered to be present at Huzuribagh to identify the demonstrators from among the assembled people.¹⁴³ This order of the Governor put the people into a state of fear. The *Mujawirs*¹⁴⁴ and the people of Khanqah-i-Mualla in an application addressed to the Resident wrote that "they were not responsible for the disturbances and that fifty thousand people will be present at Huzuribagh."¹⁴⁵ Thereupon

the Resident asked the State as to the genuineness of the order. The Governor then postponed the implementation of his own order till further orders. Finally, the order was stopped. But in the meantime a Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate into the causes of the disturbances. The commission examined the memorialists and took written statements from each. After the inquiry was over, the memorialists were awarded varied punishments.¹⁴⁶

The leading memorialist Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl was banished from the State. On October 15, 1924, the Governor of Kashmir sent a police force consisting of 110 sepoys under the command of the Superintendent of Police to arrest Saad-ud-Din Shawl from his house. He was arrested and taken in a tonga to the police station at Kothibagh. From the police station he was put in a closed car and taken to some unknown place. A few days later, he sent a telegram to his family from Rawalpindi.¹⁴⁷ This confirmed the news of his exilement about which the people learnt in an instant. Among the other memorialists, Khwaja Shah Naqshbandi was deprived of his jagir, Khwaja Nurshah Naqshbandi was dismissed from his service and the rest of them were set free on tendering an apology. But all the memorialists were debarred from attending the royal durbars and other State functions. They were also debarred from seeking any office in the State such as of a "Municipal Commissioner or a Zaildar"¹⁴⁸, nor were they allowed to attend any garden party arranged by the State.¹⁴⁹ They were not permitted to attend even the condolence meetings arranged by the State on the death of Maharaja Pratap Singh.¹⁵⁰ When the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* in its condolence meeting passed a resolution expressing deep sympathy with the bereaved and sent a copy of the same to the ruler, the Governor refused to forward it to the ruler on the ground that the resolution bore the signature of the Mirwaiz who was an accused. The memorialists were thus placed in a state of utter humiliation.

Popular Reaction

Popular reaction immediately followed the exilement of Khwaja

Saad-ud-Din Shawl. The Muslim population of Srinagar reacted to the repressive policy of the Government. They also expressed their resentment against the two religious leaders¹⁵¹ for their indifference to and silence over the matter of Saad-ud-Din Shawl's exilement. The Muslim masses had developed a great reverence for their exiled leader. They sent him telegrams and letters expressing their sympathy with him. These were thankfully acknowledged. Some Muslims like Mohi-ud-Din Kawoosa "gave an application to the Government, requesting it to grant family allowance to Saad-ud-Din Shawl's family and also to grant permission for the collection of money from the people for the same purpose."¹⁵² But no family allowance was granted. However, a fund of eleven hundred rupees was contributed by the rich businessmen and was "sent to Saad-ud-Din Shawl through one Ghulam Mohammad Pandit".¹⁵³ Moreover, the Muslims in the city were filled with a spirit of revolt. The Government took strong measures to avoid any further disturbance. "The entire city was handed over to the army. A reign of suppression was started by the army. The people reacted to it by shouting slogans from the house-tops."¹⁵⁴ This was a sufficient indication of the people's displeasure against the Government.

The State Government was condemned for its action against the memorialists not only within the State, but also outside the State. The Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Muslmanan, Gojranwalla, passed the following resolutions¹⁵⁵ in a meeting held on June 20, 1925 at the house of Babu Atta Mohammad :

- (1) "This meeting of the Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Muslmanan, Gojranwalla, emphatically protests against the Kashmir Government's orders of exilement of Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl from Kashmir, the confiscation of the jagir of Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi and the removal of Khwaja Nurshah Naqshbandi, by means of forced resignation, from his services. The meeting also looks down upon the Kashmir Government for the action taken by it against the memorialists without the decision of any Commission of Inquiry appointed for this purpose."

- (2) "This meeting of the Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Muslmanan Gojranwalla extends its full support to the reforms envisaged in the memorial and appeals to the Maharaja that he, in his royal mercy, order the implementation of the reforms, and remove the communalist elements from the administration so that, by this act, His Highness brings in the state a ruler of splendour and glory."
- (3) "This meeting of the Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Muslmanan Gojranwalla, appeals to the Governor-General of India, the Secretary to Government of India in the Foreign Department, Simla and the Resident in Kashmir to mitigate anxiety of all Muslim well-wishers of Kashmir by advising the Kashmir Durbar to protect the rights of the Kashmir Muslims who form the majority of the population of the State and pay the bulk of its revenues."

Similarly, the *Young Men's Muslim Association*, Gujarat, passed the following resolutions in its meeting held under the presidency of Sheikh Kiramat Ullah, the *Rais-i-Azam* and Municipal Commissioner:¹⁵⁶

- (1) The meeting of the Young Men's Muslim Association Gujarat, expresses regret at the arbitrary orders of the Kashmir Durbar ordering the externment of Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, the confiscation of the jagir of Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi and the dismissal of Khwaja Nurshah Naqshbandi from his service. The meeting also appeals to the Governor-General and the Viceroy of India to take pity on the oppressed and ask the Kashmir Durbar to rescind its orders.
- (2) This meeting expresses its heart-felt sympathies with the Muslims of Kashmir and pray to God to bestow upon them patience in their hour of trial.

In view of these developments Sir Hari Singh, who had ascended the throne after the death of Maharaja Pratap Singh, started a policy of conciliation and compromise towards the Muslims.¹⁵⁷ He lifted the ban on Saad-ud-Din Shawl and per-

mitted him to return home. Ban on the other memorialists was also lifted.

On the 8th of August, 1927, Saad-ud-Din Shawl reached Srinagar at 9 a.m. He was accompanied by the Superintendent of Police, and was released at the same place where he had been arrested. He was welcomed by thousands of people who showered upon him coins and sweets to mark the jubilation of the occasion. He was then taken inside the shrine of Dastgir Sahib for *Dastar-bandi*.¹⁵⁸ On the 25th of August, he and Hassan Shah Naqshbandi attended the royal Durbar. After the *Nazarana* ceremony was over, both the memorialists stood before the Maharaja until Colonel Hushara Singh finished reading out to the Durbar the apologies tendered by both the memorialists. Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi then took his seat among the Jagirdars and Saad-ud-Din Shawl among the nobles.¹⁵⁹

The presentation of the memorandum to the Viceroy had added a new chapter to the history of the people of the State. The memorandum was basically an expression of a long-felt desire of Kashmiri Muslims for a demand of justice and human rights. But the Government turned it down on the grounds that the representative institutions were at that time beyond practical politics. The contention of the Government was that the lack of education among the Muslims necessitated their restricted admission to the Government services; and that the demands for "proprietary rights were irrational"¹⁶⁰ because these were not in accordance with the wishes of the main body of tenantry. This was the kind of response made by the Government to the Muslims. Impliedly, they had to remain content with the policies of the Government.

Indian Nationalism, Impact on Kashmir

The militant nationalism in India in the first decade of the present century took its shape due to certain "significant events in the world arena, the most important of which was the defeat of Tsarist Russia at the hands of Japan".¹⁶¹ The people's revolution of 1905 against the autocratic regime of Tsar in Russia, and the liberation movements in Egypt, Turkey, Italy, etc., were other world events which had infused a spirit of national-

ism in Indian people during their struggle for freedom from the foreign rule. These events had convinced the Indian nationalists that the West could never be the ultimate master of Asian destiny. The immediate cause of the rise of militant nationalism in India was the partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition flared up the nationalists who launched a vigorous country-wide agitation against the sinister design of Lord Curzon. The entire country was surcharged with a spirit of new age.

The impact of the Indian nationalist movement was felt by the educated young non-Muslims in the Jammu and Kashmir State. Educationally advanced as they were, these young men were influenced by Western learning with its traditions of liberalism. The Punjab was first to influence Jammu because of its close proximity with the plains where the Indian nationalism inspired officials of the administration and the students of schools and colleges. These young revolutionaries made attempts "to seduce the loyalty of the Imperial Service troops"¹⁶¹ which were, however, most determinedly quashed by the Maharaja. The Commander-in-Chief of the army took measures to stop this influence. The authorities dismissed Sant Singh, a teacher of Jammu college, from his services for taking part in political movements, and expelled him from the State. Also, three college students were expelled for one year from the State "for collecting subscriptions for the *Punjabee*",¹⁶² a newspaper published from the Punjab. The political activities of the students consisted in shouting the slogan of "*Bande Matarum*" and writing it on the walls of schools. Instructions were given to the District Magistrate and the Police "to keep close watch over all agitators and their promoters", and they were authorised "to adopt measures consistent with the situations and politically dangerous movements".¹⁶⁴ The possession and the reading of the newspapers were regarded as seditious and unlawful.¹⁶⁵ Notifications issued by the Maharaja warned that the "persons making any speech either in public or private or even holding private meetings to cause any kind of disaffection or public demonstration of individual feelings of discontent will be equally dealt with".¹⁶⁶ Besides, a strict watch was kept over the prohibited political literature to be imported into the State. A few packages containing such literature sent from London

were siezed at Karachi.¹⁶⁷ These developments were seriously taken note of by the Government of India and it asked the Maharaja to take strict measures to check the spread of seditious movements as these were thought "to endanger the lives and property of Europeans in the State".¹⁶⁸ The political activities of the natives as well as other suspected persons, especially Bengalis, were brought under a close vigilance.¹⁶⁹ The political movements of the subjects of the State came under still closer watch during and after the First World War. The victory of people's revolution in Russia in October 1917 had disconcerted the Government of India. This was reflected here too. The Residency took measures to stop the entry of Bolshevic literature and ideas in Kashmir.¹⁷⁰ A strict watch was kept over the communists in 1919¹⁷¹ and the Russian currency recovered from certain trades in Kashmir was confiscated.¹⁷² Despite the policy of repression adopted by the Government, the patriotic youth continued to be under the influence of the Indian nationalism. The non-cooperation movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi following the Jallianawalla Bagh tragedy was closely watched by them. Many students from the State participated in the non-cooperation campaigns. Over 150 students went to "Gojranawalla to attend a conference of students convened by Lala Lajpat Rai to induce the students to join the Non-Cooperation movement."¹⁷³

By 1930 the influence of the Indian nationalism was quite visible in the Kashmir province. The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in May, 1930 was protested at by the non-Muslims in Srinagar. On May 6, 1930 "thousands of the Punjabis and Kashmiri Pandits gathered together at Amirakadal. They observed hartal and took out a procession which included the sons of the Punjabi officials and the Kashmiri Pandits. Foreign cloth was burnt at Maharaj Gunj. The processionists shouted slogans "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" and "Maharaja Bahadur ki Jai".¹⁷⁴

On May, 7, 1930, "another procession was organised at Amirakadal. The procession included also the college students and the sons of the high officials, such as the sons of the Governor. The college students were on strike".¹⁷⁵

As previously, drastic measures were taken to put a stop to these revolutionary movements. The Inspector General of

Police directed the District Magistrate through a telegram to "prevent under law, hartals, processions and bonfire of foreign cloth. Observe Government policy".¹⁷⁶ The copies of this telegram were sent to the Government offices and the educational institutions to be noted and signed by the Government servants. The Maharaja issued warning to the students that their participation in the political affairs of India and the State would cause their expulsion from schools.¹⁷⁷ A committee of inquiry consisting of five members was also appointed to investigate into the causes of students' activities in the political affairs. These measures no doubt suppressed the movement but could not eradicate it.

The early phase of the nationalist movement in the Jammu and Kashmir State was not conducted under any formal directions from the Indian National Congress. Since there existed no political organisation in the State, the nationalist movement was conducted by the natives through voluntary participation and indirect contacts with the leaders of the freedom movement in the British India. But this movement during this phase remained confined to non-Muslims. The Muslim population of the State remained aloof from it. For them the participation in political activities would mean to invite further trouble and oppression upon themselves. The Government had already frustrated their hopes. All their efforts to secure for the Muslim community justice and human rights had met with failure. Moreover, the absence of a sound and matured leadership among them was another reason for their non-involvement in this movement.

Kashmir for Kashmiris

The voice, Kashmir for Kashmiris, was first raised by the Kashmiri Pandits primarily with the object of getting more and more administrative jobs for the educated unemployed young men of their own community and also, for securing high positions for highly qualified Pandits already in Government services.

The problem of Government services had engaged the attention of the natives for a long time. The State had employed

and continued to employ outsiders in large numbers to various administrative posts in the Government. In order to keep the outsiders off these jobs, the natives demanded that only the State subjects should be appointed to Government posts. This naturally raised a question as to who was a State subject. This question owed its origin to an order issued by the Council during the Residency rule in Kashmir. During this period, the Council had changed the court language from Persian to Urdu. This change had affected the incompetent and corrupt officials who were thrown out of jobs. Then a system of competitive examination was introduced with its stiff rules for appointment to Government services. No Kashmiri could hope to get a job because not even one was Matriculate. The result was that outsiders continued to be imported to man the administration, a thing continuously opposed by the natives.¹⁷⁸ Maharaja Pratap Singh issued between 1895 and 1912 some orders directing his Government that for the appointment to administrative departments "subjects of the State should be given preference".¹⁷⁹ The outsiders who formed a majority in the Government offices and had an effective influence in matters of administration were taken aback. Since there was no well-defined definition of the term "State-subject" on record, these outsiders persuaded the Maharaja to define the term in such manner that the services, trade and property of non-State subjects of the State would be protected. The term was defined in 1912 and came to be known as the State Subject Definition, 1912. According to this definition any person who had obtained a "ryat-nama on a stamp paper worth annas eight from the Maharaja's government to own land"¹⁸⁰ could become a State subject. This definition did not satisfy the educated natives. They felt that it was bound to prejudicially affect their future service interests. They requested the Maharaja to reconsider the term. A Committee was appointed in 1922 for this purpose but nothing came out of it.

Finally, the issue came up again towards beginning of Maharaja Hari Singh's regime. The Maharaja appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Major General Janak Singh to define the term. The Commission comprised officials and non-officials including the natives and the outsiders. The Commis-

sion submitted its report in 1927 defining the term 'state subject'. This definition divided the subjects into three categories—Class First state subjects, Class Second and Class Third. But even the definition fell short of expectations. It did not help solve the real issue as expected by the Kashmiri Pandits. On the contrary, the new Maharaja had adopted a policy of favouritism by giving high posts of administration to the mediocre Dogras. The policy of favouritism was challenged by the Kashmiri Pandits who now extended their demands to include, besides a share in services, ban on the sale of land to outsiders, freedom to press, freedom of association and assembly, and creation of an elected legislature to voice the views of the people on all affairs of the State. But these demands only remained on the pages of the newspapers. The Pandits failed to organise an active political forum to pressurize the State to concede these demands.

REFERENCES

1. V.A. Narain, "Indigenous Forces of Social Reform in Bengal in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", Bisheshwar Prasad, (c.d.), *Ideas in History*, (Delhi, Asia Publishing House, 1968), p. 132.
2. "It has been brought to the notice of the Resident that the Arya Samaj has recently shown much activity in proselytising the Meghs and Dooms of Sialkot District. The Resident has also heard that the society has during the last few months been very active in Jammu". From Captain Trench, 1st Resident in Kashmir to Rai Sahib, Dewan Amar Nath, Chief Minister to His Highness, September 16, 1910. *File 215, 1910, Political Department, (Old English Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
3. *File No. 261/28-C, 1917, Political Department, General Records (Old English)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
4. "On the Arya Samaj side Maharani Shankar is the Chief Lecturer. Once before in March 1911 he came to Jammu. In a communication from the Residency it was said that he is believed to be a prominent agitator of Bombay Presidency" From Chief Minister to the Inspector-General of Police, July 18, 1917, *Ibid.*
5. *File No. 157/C-11; Political Department, Government Records (Old English Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).

6. Demi-official letter from Governor of Jammu to the Home Minister to His Highness vide 526,-P. dated April 9, 1911, *Ibid.*
7. No. 589/CH, Demi-official (confidential), dated 8th April, 1921, *Ibid.*
8. Report of G.C. Rampal, A.S.P. Jammu, dated April 8, 1921, *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. "I (Ram Chander Kaul, Abhai), Pandit Janki Nath Dhar, a Government servant relevant, Pandit Madhav Joo Bhan who was in those days working in Municipal Committee Laboratory—Pandit Bhan had been converted to Christianity but he later on got reconverted to Hinduism through Shuddi—consulted among ourselves and decided to set up a Sabha, namely, *Arya Kumar Sabha*". Information gathered in an interview with Ramchander Kaul Abhai on July 25, 1972
11. Copy of letter No. 30 dated the 19th October, 1917, from Pandit Madhav Bhan, Srinagar to the Superintendent of Police, Kashmir Province, Srinagar, File No. 261/28-C, 1917, *Political Department, General Records (Old English Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
12. *Ibid.*
13. Interview with Ramchander Kaul Abhai, *op. cit.*
14. "We persuaded a man, namely, Pandit Omkar Nath, a petition writer to marry a young widow of a village. We went to the village, brought the widow with great care. We took her to the Court where she agreed to marry the man and the widow-marriage was performed." *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. The information was gathered in an interview with Pandit Vedlal Vakil on May 15, 1973.
17. File No. 157-C-11 *Political Department of 1921; Government Records (Old English Records)*, Jammu and Kashmir State Archives.
 "...After him arose Swami Vivekanand. He spoke on the principles of which Arya Samaj was working and in explaining he criticised Islam and Jainism." Confidential report from A.S.P. Jammu to S.P. Jammu dated 8th April, 1921: *Ibid.*
18. On 30th of July 1923, the Arya Samajists had made bitter attacks on Islam, Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *Personal Diary 1907-1950 (Manuscript unpublished)*, dated the 30th July, 1923.
 Also "I reached Huzuribagh at 4 p.m. The meeting was on...and Syed Mubarak Shah gave a meaningful speech. He compared Islam with Christianity and Hinduism. He challenged the Hindus and invited them to an open discussion". *Ibid.*, March 23, 1924, item 1.
19. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1928, item 3.
20. Report G.C. Rampal, Assistant Superintendent Police; *op. cit.*, File No. 157/C-11 (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
21. *Ibid.*
22. No. 43/C-m/ (Demi-official), *Ibid.*

23. The information has been gathered in an interview with Lala Mulk Raj Anand Saraf, Editor, *The Ranbir*, Jammu, on May 21, 1973.
24. "Dogra Sabha and Anjuman-i-Islam Jammu", (Lahore, Akhbar-i-Kashmir, June 28, 1925).
25. An interview with Mulk Raj Anand Saraf, *op. cit.*
26. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated September 26, 1926, item 2.
27. Munshi Assad-Ullah was made the President of the Reception Committee for the Annual Session of the Dogra Sabha and Pandit Jia Lal Kilam Secretary. *Ibid.*, dated October 11, 1926.
28. *Ibid.*, dated October 13, 1926.
29. *Ibid.*, dated October 14, 1926, item 4 and dated October 15, 1926, item 1.
30. In a meeting with Khwaja Mohammad Maqbool I asked him the reason why he had participated in the Dogra Sabha meeting. He said that he had to do so because Balkak Dhar had written to him. He added, "I thought he (Balkak Dhar) would go to Janak Singh and tell him in case I did not participate that I was communal. I personally opposed it (Dogra Sabha) on principle. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1926, item 1.
31. Information gathered in an interview with Shri Shambu Nath Bhan in July, 1973.
32. Pandit Damoodhar Bhatt, Shri Mohan Kishen Tickoo, Pandit T.N. Kaul were other leading members of the Fraternity Society, *Ibid.*
33. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz kept this letter in a wooden frame so that any one could see and react to it for his satisfaction. The information was gathered in an interview with Shri Vedlal Dhar, Vakil, *op. cit.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. Interview with Shri Shambu Nath Bhan, *op. cit.*
37. Moulvi Atiq-Ullah Shah, *Serat-ul-Waizeen* (Lahore, Rifai Aam Press, 1910), p. 24.
38. Every issue of the Anjuman's official Journal *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad* contained in the inner side of its cover the aims and objects and rules of membership of the Anjuman.
39. Speech delivered by Moulvi Anwar Shah, Lolabi, at the second annual session of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam; the *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad*, (Lahore, Himalya Steam Press), p. 30.
40. Speech delivered by Munshi Ghulam Mohammad Khadim at the second annual session of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam; *Ibid.*, p. 41.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*

43. Speech delivered by Saad-ul-Din Shawl at the Second Annual session of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad* p. 63.
44. Speech delivered by Khwaja Mohammad Maqbool Pandit at the annual session of the Anjuman in 1915, *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad*, (Srinagar, Prata Kashmir Steam Press), p. 39.
45. Mohammad-u-Din Fauq, *Tarikh-i-Agwan-i-Kashmir*, Vol. 2, p. 89.
46. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op cit.*, dated July 4, 1922, item 3.
47. *Ibid.*, dated October 5, 1922, item 2.
48. *Ibid.*, dated July 8, 1923, item 3.
49. *Ibid.*, dated December 20, 1925, item 3.
50. *Ibid.*, dated June 3, 1922, item 1.
51. The deputation consisted of Mirwaiz Kalan, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khwaja Hussan Shah Naqshbandi, Moulvi Atiq-Ullah, Munshi Assad-Ullah, Snif-ud-Din Ganai, Mohi-ud-Din Kawoosa Mohi-ud-Din Gangroo, Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, and Pir Abdullah Shah Qamri...Mirza Ghulam Mustafa read out the notes and Munshi Assad-Ullah acted as an interpreter. *Ibid.*, dated June 19, 1922, item 2.
52. *Ibid.*, dated August 30, 1922, item 2.
53. *Ibid.*, dated May 23, 1923 item 2.
54. *Ibid.*, dated July 24, 1921, item 1.
55. *Ibid.*, dated July 25, 1921, item 2.
56. *Ibid.*, dated July 27, 1921, item 2.
57. *Ibid.*, dated July 31, 1921, item 1.
58. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1921, item 2 and August 13, 1921, item 4.
59. "In the evening a meeting of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim was held at the residence of Munshi Assad-Ullah. A decision with regard to the distribution of scholarships was taken in the meeting. One scholarship of Rs. 5/- was given to a college student; 4 (four) scholarships of Rs. 20/- each per student reading in IV High and V High classes in four different schools; 3 scholarships of Re. 1/- each for students reading in middle classes and 5 scholarships of annas eight each for students reading in primary schools. *Ibid.*, 20-8-1921, item 2.
60. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1922, item 1 and September 22, 1922.
61. "A meeting attended by Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Munshi Assad-Ullah, Syed Mohi-ud-Din Shawl, Mohammad Sadiq S/O Sheikh Sadiq Hussain of Amritsar and other Punjabi Muslims was held at the residence of Sadar-ud-Din. They wanted to establish a central Anjuman. *Ibid.*, dated September 16, 1926, item 2.
62. *Ibid.*, dated June 19, 1926, item 3 and dated June 20, 1926, item 1.
63. *Ibid.*, dated May 24, 1924, item 1.
64. *Ibid.*, dated July 16, 1924, item 1 and July 19, 1924, item 1.
Also: On the 20th May, 1924; Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din delivered a lecture on importance of education. The meeting lasted from 4.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Khwaja Bandy, Syed Hussain Jalali, Siraj-ud-Din, Munshi Assad-Ullah,

Moulvi Sharif-ud-Din and other influential Punjabis were present in the meeting. *Ibid.*, dated July 20, 1924.

65. *Ibid.*, dated May 11, 1928.
66. *Ibid.*, dated May 14, 1928.
67. *Ibid.*, dated September 14, 1928, item 3.
68. The main purpose of inviting Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din to deliver a speech was to get some financial aid for Khanqah Middle School. The Khwaja had written in this connection to Nawab of Bhopal, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the other Nawabs; *Ibid.*, July 15, 1924, item 3.
69. *Ibid.*, dated July 20, 1924, item 4.
70. Both Munshi Assad-Ullah and Mr. G.A. Ashai expressed their resentment against the Mirwaiz in this respect. *Ibid.*, dated September 9, 1925.
Also: The Mirwaiz Hamadani had instituted a suit against the Mirwaiz Kashmir and Mir Abdullah Shah Mutwali for a claim of preaching in Jamia Masjid., *Ibid.*, dated March 9, 1930.
71. Mohammad-din Fauq, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
72. "A deputation of 5 members was sent by the "Unjuman" to Shri Ghulam Sadaq of Amritsar and another (deputation) of 7 members was appointed to go tomorrow at 2 p. m. to the Nawab of Bhawalpur for granting some donation to the Unjuman", Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated October 16, 1918, item 2).
73. (Lahore, *The Zamindar*, August 3, 1928).
74. *Ibid.*
75. Information gathered in an interview with Mr. Khushdil, at Aalika-dal, Srinagar on May 11, 1973.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Interview with Mr. Khushdil, *op. cit.*
78. The name of the Association impels that its function was to make Muslims offer regular prayers and make them wear dress according to the Islamic laws i.e. a dress which properly covers the head and all other parts of the body.
79. Rais Sher Ali Khan, Jagirdar Rampur's views on the "Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-Wa-Sastri-Masturat", (Lahore, *Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, July 25, 1925).
80. *Ibid.*
81. A Muslim priest.
82. An expounder of the Mohammadan Law.
83. (Lahore, *Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, February 21, 1929).
84. 'Yezar' in Kashmiri means pyjama. Since these reformers stressed the propriety of wearing pyjamas, they came to be called the *Yezar Pirs* or the priest caring only for pyjamas.
85. It was in November 1924 that the Muslims of the Punjab thought in terms of starting an organization of Young Muslims which could "compare favourably with those run by sister communities, e.g.,

"Y.M.C.A." The Society was to start with literary activities which in the due course of time would be widened to cover social problems. "Letter to the Editor by "M", (Lahore, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, November 22, 1924, p. 15. Col. 2).

Note: The Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu was also established on the pattern of the Young Men's Muslim Organizations of the Punjab.

86. (Lahore, *The Zamindar*, April 17, 1928).
87. *Jinaza-gah* is a place where prayers are offered to dead before the corpse is buried, and *Sabil-gah* is a shed or place where water is given to the travellers free of cost. It is a pious duty.
88. The founders of the Anjuman-i-Islamia were Major-General Samander Khan, Raja Farman Ali Khan, Mistry Yaqub Ali, Syed Assad-Ullah Shah and Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, joining it later. Interview with Mulk Raj Anand Saraf, *op. cit.*
89. (Delhi, *The Munadi*, June 8, 1926).
90. Sixth day after the birth of a child (on this day the house goes on a thorough cleaning, the midwife receives her present, the mother and child are bathed, the child is named and friends are invited to dinner).
91. (Delhi, *The Munadi*, October 5, 1927).
92. F.M. Hassnain, *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, (Delhi, Sterling Publishers, Pvt. Ltd.), p. 63.
93. *File No. 1915-A of 1943 (Samvat)*, *Persian Records* (Kashmir Government Records), (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
94. Hashmat-Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 794 vide F.M. Hassnain, *op. cit.*
95. F.M. Hassnain, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
97. Begum Imam-ud-Din was, "a woman of determined courage and character, revered by her subjects as Madar-i-Meharban (kind-mother) who took up arms and took a vow not to allow the Sheikh to enter her chambers until he fought the invader". see *Ibid.*, f.n. 82, p. 26.
98. The Department of Shawl-industry in the State.
99. Prithvi Nath Kaul Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, (New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co., 1973), p. 668.
100. Nab Shah, *Wajeez-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 201, vide F.M. Hassnain, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
101. *File No. 313-E of 1865* (Kashmir Government Records), (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
102. Proceedings of the Government of India in the *Foreign Department for the month of May, 1905*, *Secret I*, No. 1594 dated Srinagar March 18, 1905.
103. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated May 28, 1918, item 5.
104. *Ibid.*, dated May 9, 1918.

105. *Ibid.*, dated June 9, 1921 item 5.
106. The official members of the Board consisted of the following:
The Resident of Kashmir, The Revenue Commissioner, the Governor of Kashmir, the Home Minister, the Director of Census, the President of the Municipal Committee, Srinagar, the Superintendent of Customs, etc. The non-official members of the Board were; the Mirwaiz of Kashmir, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Khwaja Hasan Shah Bandey, Munshi Assad-ullah, Pandit Hargopal Vakil, Pandit Radha Krishin Koul, Pandit Vedlal etc., *Ibid.*, dated June 25, 1921, item 4.
107. R.C. Majumdar and A.K., Majumdar, *The History of Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. XI, (Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969), p. 316.
- 107A J and K State Archives, "Memo No. 99/C.I., dated, Jammu, March 14, 1920", *File No. 200 of 1920* (Old Records).
- 107B *Ibid.*, No. 101/C-1- dated March 16, 1920.
- 107C The following batches were arranged for the work:

1. Allah Dita Siraj Tufail Mohammad	To move Hafizullah Imam of Masjid Sirajan
2. Babu Feroze Din Chowdhary Gazanfer Ali	To move Imam of Masjid Alaf Shah Talab Khatikan
3. Mirza Mubarik Beg Qazi Ziaullah	To move Ghulam Haider, Imam Masjid Chamaran
4. General Sumandar Khan Mohmmad Shah Patoi	To move moulvi Rahim Bux, Imam Masjid Mohalla Qasaban
5. Moulvi Umar Din Babu Feroz Din	To move Tangawalas, Tum-Tum wales, Mohammadan shopkeepers of Kangar Bazar and Kanak Mundi
6. Tufail Ahmad Mohammad Sayad Ghulam Nabi	To move Mohammadan vegetable-sellers and confectioners
7. Faqir Ullah	To move all Khatiks to stop work on March 19, 1920
- Ibid.*, *File No. 200 of 1920*.
- 107D. *Ibid.*, No. 104/C.I., dated March 17, 1920.
- 107E. *Ibid.*
108. Imam is the priest who leads the prayer in mosque.
109. At a meeting held at Jamia Masjid on June 11, 1920 "the Imam-i-Masjid, during the course of Khutba (sermon) prayed for the success of Caliph of Muslims and, also for the victory of the Muslim armies", Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated, June 11, 1920; item 1.
Also: "In a meeting held on Friday at Khanqah-e-Moulla, the Imam-e-Masjid with all humility prayed to God for the continued existence and stability of the Caliphate; prayers were also offered for the victory

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of the warriors of Islam fighting against infidels. The audience were greatly impressed. Many of them were heard weeping bitterly. Then the Imam announced the programme for the next meeting to be held... at Chrar-e-Sherif...Syed Jamat Ali Shah was present in the meeting." *Ibid.*, dated June 25, 1920

110. A place where Id-prayers are offered by Muslims.
111. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated August 1, 1920, item 3.
- 111A. J & K State Archives: letter from Superintendent of Police to Inspector General, Police Jammu and Kashmir, *File No. 200 of 1920* (Old Records).
- 111B. *Ibid.*
112. Presidential Address of Jammu and Kashmir Azad Muslim Conference Party held on 12th, 13th and 14th of Shaban, 1352 Hijra (Reprinted by Sufi Ahmad Muslim, December 18, 1968), p. 5.
Also: The following table shows the meetings held and the funds collected in connection with the Khilafat agitation in Kashmir. The facts and figures have been collected from the Personal Diary of Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*

<i>S No.</i>	<i>Place where the meeting was held</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Money collected</i>
1.	Malla Baba Sahib	4.8.1920	Not given
2.	Jamia Masjid Srinagar	6.8.1920	-do-
3.	Khanqah-Shah Namat-Ullah Qadri	11.8.1920	Rs. 100.00
4.	Masjid Butwani	12.8.1920	Not given
5.	Jamia Masjid, Srinagar	13.8.1920	Rs. 13.00
6.	Badshah Tomb, Zainakadal	15.8.1920	Not given
7.	Jamia Masjid, Srinagar	20.8.1920	-do-
8.	Marghi Masjid, Zainakadal	24.8.1920	-do-
9.	Id-gah, Srinagar	26.8.1920	Rs. 200.00
10.	Qazi Masjid	27.8.1920	Rs. 40.00
11.	Masjid Butwani—(Lasa Matu, a Kashmiri saint donated one shirt)		
12.	Kalashpora	28.8.1920	Rs. 50.00

- 112A. J and K State Archives, D.O. Letter No. 350/C.H. from Moulla Bakhsh to Chief Minister, dated March 17, 1920. *File No. 200 of 1920.*
- 112B. D.O. (Confidential) Letter No. 468-C, from the Resident of Kashmir to the Chief Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, dated, Gulmargh, August 13, 1920. *Ibid.*
113. The Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi and Khwaja Bandy were among

- those called] by the Home Minister. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated July 1, 1920, item 1.
114. "...in the meeting Assad Khan, Jan Mohammed and Ghulam Mohammad, shopkeepers of Zainakadal, were called to his residence by the Mirwaiz. He said to them, '...on the 13th of Ramazan Khwaja Hassan Shah called me and told that since there were disturbances in the Punjab our state was free from these things. A better course would be to submit a memorandum to the Maharaja, expressing our gratitude to him (for maintaining peace in the State)'...After the Ramazan was over, Moulvi Sadat came to me a few times, asking me to sign the memorandum but each time I put him off. Then Khwaja Hassan Shah came himself to see me. I told Khwaja Hassan Shah that I would not sign the memorandum in the capacity of the president of the Anjuman but in the capacity of the Mirwaiz on the condition that the Government first restored to us (Muslims) Pather Masjid...and other confiscated mosques, otherwise I was not prepared to have myself decried inside and outside the State..." *Ibid.*, dated July 1, 1920; item 3.
115. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail records the information thus given him by one Moulvi Ghulam Hassan, a teacher of the Mission High School.
"Mr. Bisco called me, and said that there is a sedition here. I (the Moulvi) said, there is no sedition at all in Kashmir". Mr. Bisco said, "Yesterday there was a public meeting at Rainawari and Qamar-ud-Din delivered a lecture in that meeting in which he made references to Jalianawala Bagh, Amritsar. "He is a fool. He does not know what he speaks", said the Moulvi. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1920, item 2.
- 115A. J and K State Archives, Letter, dated, August 16, 1920, from Chief Minister, Jammu and Kashmir, to the Resident of Kashmir, *File No.* 200 of 1920.
116. The information gathered in an interview with Pir Mohammad Afzal Mukhdoomi on August 5, 1974.
- 116A. Proceedings of the meeting held in the office of Chief Minister of J and K State on September 2, 1920. *Ibid.*
117. On Id-ul-Azha, the 26th August, 1920, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, the Mirwaiz, Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi and Moulvi Atiq-Ullah had gone to see the Minister and the Governor. The Inspector of Police was also there. They complained against the workers of the Khilafat agitation. Moulvi Atiq-Ullah said to the Governor, "They are rebels and should, therefore, be arrested." Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, August 29, 1920, item 3.
118. Mr. Salam Shah said that all agitators should be asked to furnish security. If Babu Qamar-ud-din alone "will be asked to furnish security, you are going to antagonise the Punjabi Muslims". *Ibid.*, September 1, 1920, item 2.
- 118A. The official records consulted show that only one "akashkol" joined and attended one meeting held at Safakadal but was immediately

warned and consequently he abstained from attending the other one. Similarly one P. Amar Nath Raina was said to have delivered once a short speech at a meeting held at Nawakadal.

- 1.9. In a meeting convened by the Governor in connection with the Khilafat agitation, Moulvi Abdullah, Deputy Governor, was sent to persuade Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah to abandon the agitation. Muzafar Hussain, Tehsildar, was sent to Syed Mubarak Shah, and Nur-Ilahi, Tehsildar, to Babu Qamar-ud-Din. Babu Qamar-ud-Din did not sign the order. He said that he was not a State Subject. He was sent from outside to spread the Khilafat movement in Kashmir. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1920, item 4.
120. Dr. Abdul Wahid's statement before Riots Enquiry Committee, *His Highness' Government Jammu and Kashmir—written statements, part I (English), Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee* (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1931); p. 111.
121. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 13, 1924, item 1.
122. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1924, item 2.
Also: Hafiz Mohammad Ismail records that some Pandits had managed to inform the Maharaja and Raja Sahib that the Muslim workers of the Silk Factory would loot the Pandits and pelt the royal Palace with stones..." *Ibid.*
123. *Jammu and Kashmir Government Administrative Report, Samvat 1981*, p. 9.
124. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, July 21, 1924, item 2 and July 19, 1924, item 3.
125. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1924, item 2.
126. Mirwaiz Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Munshi Assad-Ullah, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Doctor Abdul Wahid, Budhay Khan, Mohi-ud-Din Gangu, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Mohi-ud-Din Kawoosa, etc. were instructed to see that the peace and order was maintained by the Muslims. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1924.
127. *Ibid.*, dated September 19, 1924, item 2.
128. On the 21st of July, 1924 the Governor of Kashmir had convened a meeting of some leading Muslims of Kashmir in his office. The meeting was held at 12 O' clock in the day. The Governor told those present at the meeting that the labourers of the Silk Factory had broken the law for which they had been severely punished. The Governor added that the Muslims had made a Hindu-Muslim question out of it and that they were troubling the Pandits... Budhay Khan said to the Governor, "Pandits are unnecessarily spreading rumours against Muslims with the result that we have so treated... The Pandits should also be made to understand that they should not do so." *Ibid.*, July 22, 1924, item 1.
129. "...a Sikh reporter had reported that Jalal-ud-Din, Hakim Jaffar, Mohi-ud-Din and Ghulam Ahmed Ashai were responsible for the Silk Factory Workers' strike. The reporter was asked by the Deputy

Inspector of Police to get the report confirmed by the authorities of the Silk Factory. In case the report was not so confirmed, the reporter had to bear the consequences. The reporter got perturbed and said to the Deputy Inspector of Police, "Maheshwar Nath Nagari made me write this". *Ibid.*, dated June 6, 1924.

Also, a deputation of Pandits had gone to see Dr. Deu and told him that the originator of trouble at Silk Factory was Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, *Ibid.*, August 1, 1924, item 3.

130. Elan-i-Hari Singh, vide *Ibid.*, July 25, 1924, item 1.
131. File No. 82/M-94, 1924 (Old English Records), (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives)
132. Editorial, (Jammu, *the Ranbir Weekly*).
133. "I and Khwaja Mohammad Maqbool went to see Munshi Assad-Ullah in connection with the annual function of the Madarasa. Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl was already present there. We came to know that the wealthy and learned Muslims of the city wanted to establish an Anjuman and would send to the Durbar an application (signed by all of them) for its registration". Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.* August 11, 1924, item 2.
134. Rashid Tasir, *Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir* (Srinagar, Muhaffiz Publication, 1968), p. 71.
135. Muhammed Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom (1819-1946)* Vol. I. (Lahore, Pakistan, Feroz Sons, 1978), pp. 336-337.
136. Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Mirwaiz Kashmir, Moulvi Ahmadullah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Mufti Sharif-ud-Din, Khwaja Hassan Shah Mahandi etc. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
137. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, (Lahore, October 11, 1924), p. 5.
138. "Telegram from the Maharaja of Kashmir to the Viceroy dated, Srinagar, October 12, 1924", Reading Papers, No. 528 (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
139. *The Hindustan Times*, October 25, 1924, p. 8.
140. Even Nurshah (Tehsildar) Mohi-ud-Din Gangoo and Mohammad Usman were placed there on duty for this purpose. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*; dated October 14, 1924, item 1.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *The Hindustan Times*, October 25, 1924, p. 8.
143. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated November 8 and 10, 1924, items 2 and 1 respectively.
144. Attendants at a shrine.
145. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated November 11, 1924.
146. The Commission "took particular exception to the clause in the memorial relating to an attack on the ruler". G.S. Raghvan, *The Warning of Kashmir*, (Allahabad, Pioneers Press, 1931,) p. 36.
147. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated November 11, 1924.
148. *Ibid.*, dated July 10, 1925.

149. *Ibid.*, dated December 9, 1925, item 1.
150. *Ibid.*, dated September 9, 1925, item 5; and dated February 23, 1926, item 3.
151. The Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid, however, contradicted the allegation. He said that at the back of the allegations were the Ahmadiyas and young educated Muslims whose only aim was to create an ill-will among the people against him. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1925, item 7.
Also: The Mirwaiz Moulvi Ahmad-Ullab Hamadani told his audience at Khanqah-i-Mualla that the rumours that "we have tendered an apology is wrong". He added, "How should we go against the Holy Quran?". *Ibid.*, August 23, 1925, item 2.
152. *Ibid.*, dated April 4, 1925, item 3.
153. *Ibid.*, dated March 3, 1925, item 3.
154. *Ibid.*, Rashid Tasir, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
155. *The Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, Lahore, June 28, 1925, p. 14.
156. *The Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, Lahore, August 21, 1925, p. 12.
157. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated October 8, 1925.
158. Wearing a turban round one's head as a mark of honour.
159. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated August 25, 1927, Item 1.
160. G.S. Raghvan, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
161. K. Damodarn, *Indian Political Thought : Critical Study* (New Delhi, Asia Publishing House, 1967) p. 326.
162. *Proceedings of the Government of India in the Foreign Department for the month of August, 1907 Secret I*, (National Archives of India).
163. Telegram No. 2315 dated May 13, 1907, from the Resident of Kashmir to the Secretary to Government of India in the Foreign Department, Simla, *Proceedings September, 1907, Government of India, Secret I, (Calcutta Records)*, (National Archives of India).
164. *File No. 24N-118 of 1907 (Kashmir Government Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
165. *File No. 71/N-361 of 1908 (Kashmir Government Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
166. From the Resident of Kashmir to the Secretary to Government of India in the Foreign Department, Simla, vide Telegram No. 2284 dated May 12, 1907, *Government of India, Foreign Department, Secret I, Proceedings, September, 1907 (Calcutta Records), Part B*, (National Archives of India).
167. *File No. 1910-Home-Political No. 70/82, Part B*, (National Archives of India).
168. *Government of India, Foreign Department, Secret I, September, 1907, Nos. 9-39, (Calcutta Records)*.
169. *File No. 202/N-S/C of 1910 (Old English Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
170. F.M. Hassnain, *British Policy Towards Kashmir, op. cit.*, p. 214.
171. *File No. 23/31-C of 1919 (Old English Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).

172. *File No. 61/30-C of 1919 (Kashmir Government Records)*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
173. P. N. Kaul Bamzai, *op. cit.*, p. 710
174. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, May 6, 1930. item 2.
175. *Ibid.*, dated May 7, 1930, item 2.
176. *Ibid.*, dated May 16, 1930, item 3.
177. *Ibid.*, dated May 29, 1930.
178. *File No. 24 of 1891 (Old English Records)*, (Kashmir Government Records), (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
179. *The Ranbir, Weekly*, Jammu, dated May 20 and 27, 1935 p. 3.
180. "Definition of State Subject : A Historical Review", *the Ranbir Weekly*, Jammu, May 20 and 27, 1935, p. 3.

Battle for Freedom

The year 1931 saw the beginning of an organised freedom struggle initiated by the Muslims of Kashmir against the rule of autocracy in which they had been suffering untold miseries for more than eight decades. The rising of the 13th of July that year was not merely a protest against the excesses of certain officials with the religious practices of the Muslims which had occurred one after another in Jammu a few weeks before but it was in fact a vehement expression of a deeply felt resentment of the Muslims who had failed in the past to persuade the rulers to do them justice. They exploited the incident of an alleged desecration of the Holy Quran and made it the starting point of what eventually turned out to be a long-drawn-out political struggle. Coming out of the state of disarray into which they had lain low for long, they pulled themselves together, and entered upon an organised battle for freedom from economic, social, political and religious subjugation.

Causes of Muslim Unrest Culminating in battle for Freedom

The Muslims in general, and the Kashmiri Muslims in particular, were subjected to the rule of injustice and oppression during the Dogra period in the State. The Muslims of Kashmir were discriminated against in every sphere of life, social, economic, political and religious. The causes which lay deep behind the

Muslim unrest in Kashmir may be summarised thus:

(a) *Economic Causes*

More than 80 per cent of the Muslim population in Kashmir lived on agriculture. The peasants of Kashmir had no proprietary rights of land while the peasants of Jammu enjoyed full proprietary rights of land. The peasant in Kashmir was at the mercy of the State officials because he could be ejected at any time by the State.¹ The peasants in Kashmir suffered most miserably under the entire economic system which was "generally feudal marked by the problem of transition into a weak type of capitalism".² There seemed to be no hope of their salvation from the monopolistic position of the State as the proprietor of the land, the system of jagirdari and the corrupt and oppressive bureaucracy. After providing subsistence for a fast growing population and the jagirdars, the rest of the yield was shared by the officials who lived "free on the villagers from whom they levy exactions in the form of a systematic toll".³ The poor cultivators were squeezed and, thus, almost left in starvation.

(b) *Kar-i-Sarkar (Labour requisitioned for State Purposes)*

The institution of the *Kar-i-Sarkar* was introduced as a substitute for the *begar* which had officially been abolished in 1920. Under the *Kar-i-Sarkar* the villagers were required to render services for the State whenever demanded. But the officials of the Government exploited the institution for their private purposes. They used to "employ villagers to carry their luggage free of charge over long distances and indent on the villagers for services without any remuneration".⁴ Even the mental staff in the Government offices was exploited by their superiors in the name of the *Kar-i-Sarkar*. The severity of the labour requisitioned for the State purposes was no less than that of the forced labour, and the peasantry under the *Kar-i-Sarkar* had "become more victim of it at present than under the *begar*".⁵

(c) Provincialism and racial discrimination

The policy of provincialism and racial discrimination followed by the Dogra rulers was bound to create an atmosphere of hatred, apathy and antagonism amongst those against whom such a policy was directed. The Dogras regarded the people of Kashmir as a subject race. As such, there had been a provincial as well as communal bias in the policies adopted by the Government.⁶ Thus, the Government contracts were given to the non-Muslims from outside the State at rates lower than the rates offered by the local Muslim contractors for similar contracts.⁷ Also, the leading commercial concerns were owned and run by the outsiders. These outsiders were encouraged by the Government at the cost of the native traders and businessmen who were in a state of inferior position. Lakhs of rupees were loaned to the non-Muslims from outside the State for the development of industries in the State. No interest or only a nominal interest was charged on the money loaned to them.⁸ The Cottage Industries in Kashmir, owned and run by the Muslims, suffered from a lack of capital investment. The State cared the least to help the owners with finance. The Government "did not give any financial assistance to these industries for their development, nor did it take any interest in introducing new patterns and designs in the production of its finished goods".⁹ Mr. Jamna Das Bajaj, a famous disciple of Mahatma Gandhi deplored the state of affairs of the Kashmiri Craftsmen in a speech made on July 11, 1929 at Pratap Bhawan, Srinagar.¹⁰ Mr. Bajaj admitted that "cottage industry in the villages of Kashmir was not valued by the Government".¹¹

In the field of justice those convicted of murder except Dogra Mian were hanged.¹² The people of Kashmir province and Frontier areas were not entitled to join the army. The Kashmiris were also denied the right to possess arms whereas the same right was given to the non-Muslims of Jammu province.¹³ Similarly, the Muslim *Bakarwals* were branded a criminal tribe but the Hindu *Bakarwals* bore no such stigma. The Muslim subjects of the State, especially in Kashmir, were subjected to the practice first of forced labour and then

of *Kar-i-Sarkar* and the non-Muslims were exempted from it. Even in the grant of Jagirs and titles to the privileged subjects, the non-Muslims were shown preference over the Muslims.¹⁴

(d) Discrimination in Government Services

The Muslims were discriminated against in Government services. The Muslims complained that they were not given an adequate share in the Government services even according to the available number of educated members of their community. The share of the Muslim representation in the State services was far less than they actually deserved.

The following table shows the share of the Muslims in the Government services in the year 1930 and 1931:¹⁵

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Department</i>	<i>Total No. of officials</i>	<i>Non-Muslims</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Muslim percentage</i>
1.	Forest	124	120	4	3.2
2.	Customs	159	150	9	5.8
3.	Education	62	56	6	9.6
4.	Judiciary	37	33	4	10.8
5.	Medical	220	188	32	14.5
6.	Revenue	148	113	35	23.6
7.	Treasury	201	188	13	6.4
8.	Police:				
	a) From I.G.P. to Sub-Inspectors	87	71	12	13.2
	b) Constabulary	1378	628	650	47.1

The administration was, in fact, dominantly manned by the non-Muslims and in this the share of Kashmiri Pandit community was not insignificant. So far as they were concerned, "there is not a single department of the administration except the Army from which we have been debarred (though there is no such bar in the British Indian Army which contains several Kashmiri Pandits holding the King's Commission) which does

not owe its reputation, such as it possesses, for efficiency primarily to the Kashmiri Pandit element in it".¹⁶

(e) Political Causes

Politically, the people were deprived of all basic rights and civil liberties. There existed no public opinion in the State. The right to freedom of speech, freedom of press and platform and freedom of association were made unlawful. Even the holding of a private meeting or a religious meeting was prohibited. Such meetings could, however, be permitted only with the prior permission of the authorities. Even when a permission was granted, the applicants were required to submit beforehand to the authorities a summary note of the speeches to be delivered at such meetings. If an association whose main aim was to teach the Quran was permitted to do so, the police were ordered to "watch that the Anjuman does not take part in political matters".¹⁷ In the absence of elementary political rights and civil liberties no healthy criticism was possible. The people were forced to be silent which made them perturbed and restive.

(f) Religious Causes

The Muslim subjects suffered from various religious disabilities. Several mosques, shrines and other sacred places were in the possession of the Government. With regard to the right to change one's religion, a Muslim converted to Hinduism was not deprived of his right to property and guardianship over his children, whereas in the case of a Hindu converted to Islam all such rights were lost to him.¹⁸ This discrimination was regarded by the Muslims as outrageously offensive to all sense of religious liberty. The then existing laws of the State relating to inheritance of agricultural land did not permit the daughters of the Muslim parents to inherit their property in land and the law of primogeniture was also in contradiction with the Mohammadan law. The Muslims wanted the Government to amend these laws so that they were brought in line with their religious laws.

The slaughter of cows was declared an unlawful act by the State. Any one found guilty of having slaughtered a cow was awarded life imprisonment which was later on reduced to seven years. Ruthless treatment was meted out to the Muslims even if they were suspected of having committed the crime. From the time the law was put into effect upto 1931, "eight thousand Musalmans have spent their lives in prison under this crime".¹⁹ The Muslim subjects never raised any objection to the selling of *Jatkha*²⁰ or pork permitted to be sold in open market. What the Muslims wanted was that the punishment for the cow-slaughter was too heavy and enforced in an inhuman way and that it needed to be reformed. The Muslims also complained that the State followed an open discrimination in the use and utilization of the funds of the Dharmarth Department. Out of its funds which ran into lakhs of rupees, the State gave liberal assistance to the Hindus for the construction of the temples and shrines and for the celebration of various Hindu festivals, but no such assistance was ever made available to the Muslims.²¹ This attitude of the State was, according to the Muslims, contrary to the declared policy of the ruler and his "religion of justice".²²

Immediate Causes

The immediate causes which led to the political disturbances of July 1931 can be attributed to the emergence of a group of educated Muslims with a modern outlook, the high-handedness of the Cabinet Government in the State during the presence of the Maharaja in Europe, and the interference of the authorities in the religious affairs of the Muslim subjects leading to the insult of the Holy Quran.

Emergence of Educated Young Muslims

By 1930 Kashmir had seen the emergence of a good number of young Muslims who had received higher education at various universities in India. These young men came from middle class families and formed a middle class intelligentsia with a middle-class political outlook. During their educational career, they had acquainted themselves with the political movements of the Indian

subcontinent. They belonged to the revolutionary era. Back in Kashmir, they faced the problem of unemployment as they could not get suitable jobs. They felt frustrated.

During their unemployment, they "started a Reading Room near Fateh Kadal in Srinagar, where most of them used to meet and discuss the current topics of the day".²³ The young men were convinced that the Government was not willing to trust the Muslims by throwing open to them the doors of administration. Many hurdles had been created from time to time in their way, the latest being the establishment of the Civil Service Recruitment Board. According to the rules made under the Recruitment Board a candidate was entitled to apply for a higher post only if he fulfilled the following conditions:²⁴

Firstly, he was supposed to produce a good health certificate from the Chief Medical Officer.

Secondly, he had to deposit fifty rupees at the time of applying.

Thirdly, nobody above twenty years could apply.

Fourthly, only a candidate belonging to a good and noble family could apply for a higher post.

Fifthly, a candidate possessing good health could not apply under rules if any of his family members had suffered from any contagious disease.

Finally, candidates had to pass a competitive examination to qualify themselves for appointment.

These rules, regulations and conditions were highly complicated. They had no rational bases. The educated Muslims saw no chance to get into services. They contended that these rules and regulations were framed with the intention of keeping them away from the administration. The Reading Room party sent a representation, on September 11, 1930, to the Cabinet Government, acquainting the members with the problem of unemployment faced by the Muslims. On October 6, the Secretary of the Cabinet Government, Thakur Kartar Singh, invited a deputation of the Reading Room party to discuss the conditions prevailing in the State.²⁵ Accordingly, on October 16, 1930, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mr. Abdul Aziz Fazili went to attend the Cabinet invitation. In a long discussion that ensued the deputationists convinced the Government of the

injustice meted out to the Muslim subjects of the State. The Sheikh exposed the irrationality of the rules and regulations made under the Civil Service Recruitment Board. In reply Mr. Wattal, a member of the Cabinet Government, said to the deputationists, "You have formed a wrong opinion about it (Recruitment Board) beforehand. I have done more than enough for the Muslims. Previously there was no Muslim in the office of the Accountant General."²⁶ "But what have you done for Kashmiri Musalmans? Mr. Abbas is an outsider and a non-State subject. His appointment was made, probably, because of some influence", said the Sheikh.²⁷ He warned the Cabinet Government of the consequences in case it showed any slackness in protecting the rights of the Muslims of Kashmir. The Cabinet members did not, however, attach any importance to this warning and considered it merely an expression of frustration of an aggrieved young man.²⁸

Highhandedness of the Cabinet Government

During his stay in Europe in 1930 Maharaja Hari Singh's administration of the State had been taken over by the Cabinet. This period is known as the Cabinet Government in Kashmir. The Cabinet Government consisted of non-Muslims only with not a single Muslim in it. The Maharaja had not exercised any wisdom or foresight at the time of announcing his Cabinet Government. Had he included a Muslim member in it, he would have certainly respected the sentiments of his Muslim subjects. During its short tenure, the Cabinet Government functioned to the detriment of the Muslim community. For example, two posts of college Principals, one in Srinagar and the other in Jammu, had fallen vacant. The Cabinet Government had invited applications for these. The application of an outsider, Mr. Mukhtar, was recommended by the Education Minister, Aga Syed Hussain on the basis of the applicant's merit and experience in teaching. When the selected applications were placed before the Cabinet for consideration, it rejected Mr. Mukhtar's application without assigning any reason. The appointments were made in favour of two non-Muslims with no better claims than Mr. Mukhtar.²⁹ Again, at a meeting held in February, 1931, the

Cabinet Government took a decision to "prohibit the entry into the State of a (Muslim) deputation led by the Nawab of Dacca".³⁰ But there was no such ban imposed on the Hindu leaders like Madan Mohan Malviya.

Interference with Religion

Two instances of interference with the religious affairs of the Muslims took place in Jammu in April, 1931. On April 29, 1931, when the Muslims were busy in a prayer meeting on the Id-day, a Sub-Inspector of Police, Babu Khem Chand, tried to stop the *Imam*, Moulvi Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari, from reading out the *Khutba* in which the *Imam* "spoke of Pharaoh as a cruel and tyrant king". The Sub-Inspector warned the *Imam* that he should stop delivering a political speech. He told the *Imam* that only the Namaz was permitted. The Moulvi said that he was reading the *Khutba* which was as important as the Namaz itself. The Sub-Inspector's behaviour was taken as an affront. A protest meeting was convened the same day at 5 p.m. at Talab Khatikan. The meeting was arranged by the Young Men's Muslim Association, Jammu and presided over by Mistry Hussain Baksh. Choudhry Gouhar Rehman, the Secretary of the Association said:³¹

"...the conditions under which the Muslims of Kashmir live are known to the entire world. Our political suppression and educational backwardness were sufficient to ruin our life. Our little left religious freedom is now being crushed. We remained silent when we saw the State ignoring our economic backwardness and poverty. We did not utter a single word when things lawful for us were made unlawful...For God's sake, tell us, how long shall we be forced to remain mum. Muslims should now make every effort to live a life of peace and honour . . ."

Several resolutions were passed at the meeting. The Government was requested to punish the police officer for his gross misbehaviour. The copies of the resolution were sent to the Maharaja and other authorities of the State.

Another incident occurred the same day at Dagore in Samba Tehsil about 15 miles from Jammu. A water tank there was jointly used by the Hindu Brahmins and the Muslim weavers. In order to offer their Id-prayer, the Muslims began to draw water from the tank, as had been their practice earlier on, for performing the ablutions. When the Hindu Brahmins saw the Muslims using the water, they came out of their houses with sticks in their hands to prevent the Muslims. The police on duty intervened, and made enquiries into "the previous practice, finding that in the past also all Mohammadans used to perform their ablutions in the tank".³² The most disgraceful feature of the incident was the way in which the police behaved with the Muslims. The enquiries made were in the nature of harassment, and the time taken by the police interference did not allow the Muslims to offer their Id-prayer in time. The Muslims of Dagore sent a deputation to Jammu to inform the Young Men's Muslim Association about the incident. The Association called a public meeting on May 4, 1931 in the mosque at Talab Khatikan. The meeting was presided over by Ghulam Hyder Shah, the *Imam*. A resolution was passed expressing regrets at the behaviour of the Brahmins of Dagore. The Maharaja was requested to take proper action against the police authorities for their irresponsible behaviour.

Tauhin-i-Quran

The profanation of the Holy Quran was the immediate cause which ignited an unextinguishable fire of revolution for the first time in the history of Jammu and Kashmir State. It so happened that on the morning of July 4, 1931 at an hour when according to the standing orders, all bedding should have been rolled up and put away by the constables of the jail guards at the Central Jail, Jammu, a Muslim constable, Fazldad, was found sitting on his bedding, reading the Quran. The Head Constable, Labha Ram, remonstrated with him and rolled up his bedding. When he threw the bedding on his box, the *Punj Sura* fell upon the ground.³³ Thereupon the constable immediately proceeded to have three petitions written; two he presented to his superior officers and the third to the Young

Men's Muslim Association, Jammu, On June 6, 1931, the Maharaja received telegrams from the Muslims of Jammu complaining of the insult and seeking redress. The Maharaja commanded Mr. Wakefield to proceed to Jammu to investigate into the matter. Accordingly, Wakefield went to Jammu, conducted an inquiry and found that "no deliberate insult was offered to the Quran-i-Sharif and what happened was a pure accident".³⁴ The Maharaja accepted the findings of the enquiry. The Head Constable was blamed for losing control of himself and behaving in a manner unbefitting an official with a service of over 30 years. The Muslim constable was blamed for having deliberately mis-stated the facts and for having thereby caused communal unrest which might have led to the breach of peace. The Head Constable was retired from his services and the Muslim constable was dismissed.

The Muslim subjects of His Highness did not approve of the punishment given to the two officials. The Muslims argued that the dismissal of the Muslim constable from service was an example of gross injustice and partiality on the part of ruler. The Young Men's Muslim Association printed big posters which narrated the events leading to the mishap. These posters were sent to all towns and villages where the workers distributed them among the Muslim public.

Reaction in Srinagar

Immediate reaction was sparked off when a bunch of the posters reached Srinagar where the members of the Reading Room Party got them "pasted through their own workers".³⁵ The posters were read by a large number of people at various places. There was a commotion in the entire city. The "insult to the Quran" roused the religious sentiments of the Kashmiri Muslims. On June 8, 1931 a protest demonstration was organised at Jamia Masjid. It was at this time that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who afterwards became the unquestioned leader of the people, was introduced to the audience by Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah who was the most influential leader of the time. The Moulvi appealed to the audience to listen to the young man and advised them to respect and value his ideas.³⁶ The

Sheikh then made his maiden speech to a gathering of "seven thousand people, explaining to them the greatness, eminence and superiority of the Holy Quran".³⁷ Resolutions were passed condemning the Hindu officials who had wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Muslims. After the meeting, a procession led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Moulvi Abdul Rahim was taken out which passed through the streets of the city.

Instead of assuaging the injured feelings of the Muslims, the Government considered that the Muslims were seditious. The authorities began to persuade Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and other leading Muslims to remain aloof from the public meetings and processions. Many attempts were made to nip the agitation in the bud, but all in vain. On June 9, 1931 the Governor of Kashmir called a meeting of some leading Muslims in his office for maintaining peace and order in the city. But the meeting was inconclusive because the Muslim members could not arrive at any agreed line of action. Some of the reactionary elements such as Mirza Ghulam Mustafa and Munshi Assadullah spoke bitterly against the educated young Muslims. They suggested to the Governor to give them drastic punishment.³⁸ Rahim Shah Banday suggested that orders should be issued to prohibit public meetings within *Sheshbukas*. It was Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil who impressed upon the members that some lasting solution to the problem of unrest among the Muslim youngmen should be found out. He said:³⁹

"This is no solution. We must find out some remedy for the disease. You must invite young men for a discussion. They do not say anything against the law. Let a Commission of Enquiry be appointed to investigate into the causes of all that has been happening..."

Saad-ud-Din Shawl and Mohi-ud-Din Kawoosa agreed with the views of Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil. When nothing substantial came out of this meeting, the Government issued a notice prohibiting the holding of public meetings within the premises of the Jamia Masjid without the prior permission of the authorities. The members of the Reading Room Party attached no importance to the notice. They continued to hold public

meetings there. On June 13, 1931, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were invited by the Governor to his office for a discussion. In a long discussion, the Governor asked the Sheikh why he had been making political speeches violating the Government orders. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah with his outspoken boldness told the Governor that no law could prevent the Muslims from making speeches in the mosque. He warned the Governor of the consequences in case the notice containing the prohibitory orders was not removed from the main gate of the Jamia Masjid. When asked to submit the demands of the Muslims in writing, the Sheikh asked for more time for their submission. Even this meeting ended in a failure.

Birth of Leadership

A leadership was born during these days among the Muslims of Kashmir. The youngmen of the Reading Room Party had prepared a draft of demands to be presented to the Maharaja. On June 18, 1931, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah sent a circular letter to the Presidents and the secretaries of different Anjumans, inviting them to attend a meeting to consider the draft of demands which was prepared by the youngmen. On June 20, 1931, the meeting took place at the office of the *Anjuman i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* and the draft of demands was unanimously approved.⁴⁰ Besides, five persons, namely, Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani and Syed Hassan Shah Jalali were selected as the representatives of the Muslims of Kashmir in all public and political matters.

In order to introduce the representatives to the people, the young men of the Reading Room Party organised a public meeting at Khanqah-i-Mualla on June 21, 1931. The meeting was attended by thirty thousand people. The names of the representatives were announced to the people by Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, the author of the draft of demands. The names of Saad-ud-Din Shawl and Munshi Shihab-ud-Din were added to the list of five already approved. Thus it was that a collective leadership of seven representatives was born with two main

figures, that is, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah.

This leadership was a combination of divergent outlooks, old and new; of religious conservatism and of religious liberalism; of medieval obscurantism and of growing modernism. The one was represented by Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and the other by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. In this combination of contradictions all of them committed themselves to faithfully plead the cause of the down-trodden Muslims. All laid stress on unity and solidarity among the Muslims. Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah advised the people to be above all sectional differences and asked them for a united action,⁴¹ whenever the same was demanded. The leaders swore on the Holy Quran promising the people that they would remain faithful to their cause, and work in solidarity to the last.

Just at the time when the meeting was about to end, one Abdullah Qadeer, a non-Kashmiri Muslim in the service of an officer of the Kings Own Yorkshire Light Infantry at Peshawar, who was in Srinagar then, came quite dramatically on to the platform and requested the persons on the stage that he should be permitted to express his ideas. Having sought the permission, Abdul Qadeer made a fiery speech. He said, "We have no machine guns. But we have plenty of stones and brickbats."⁴² On June 25, 1931, he was arrested under Sections 24 A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code on the charge of engendering communal and racial strife. His arrest created a great stir. The people apprehended that their representatives might be arrested. But their apprehension was set at rest by their representatives, who spoke at various public meetings to boost the people's sagging morale. Speaking at a public meeting held at Hazratbal,⁴³ Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah said:

"If we are arrested there is nothing for you to fear. If ten of us are arrested, the other ten must be prepared to take our places."

On the same day and at the same place, the Governor of Kashmir had to address the public. When he rose to deliver his speech, the people refused to listen to him. Instead, they proceeded

towards the Jamia Masjid where a public meeting was instantly organised. At the meeting Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah announced that in case he was arrested, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar would succeed him to conduct the movement. An important feature of this formative period of freedom struggle in Kashmir was the task of the leaders to prepare the people for any kind of eventuality they might have to face in future. To forge unity and organisation among the people was the main object of the leaders at that time.

Muslim Deputation from Jammu

A Muslim deputation from Jammu in connection with the demands of Kashmiri Muslims which they were advised to present to the Maharaja by Mr. Wakefield during the period of his investigation into the causes of Tauhin-i-Quran in Jammu, was expected in Srinagar at any moment. The representatives of the Kashmiri Muslims had requested the Governor that they should be permitted "to receive and welcome the representatives from Jammu and take them in a procession. But their request was turned down".⁴⁴ On June 27, 1931 the deputation reached Amirakadal in the evening. The members of the deputation⁴⁵ having been accorded no formal reception were taken in boats from Amirakadal to Khanqah-i-Mualla where a public meeting had been organised in their honour. This occasion was the first of its kind in that the Muslims of the two provinces hitherto unknown to each other, were brought together into one united whole. The occasion also widened the scope of unity and solidarity among the entire Muslim population of the State. The prospects of a well-organised and well-founded political struggle were thus clearly coming in sight.

Qadeer's Trial and 13th July, 1931

The trial of Abdul Qadeer had started on July 6, 1931, at the Sessions Court, Srinagar. During the hearings huge crowd of Muslims assembled at the court to hear the case of one who had become their hero. The presence of large crowds at every hearing perplexed the authorities and the Chief Justice "finding

the atmosphere highly charged with Mohammadan emotionalism ordered the trial to be transferred to the prison."⁴⁶

On July 13, 1931, the judgement was pronounced at the Central Jail, Srinagar. The people had been asked to be present on the occasion. Accordingly an estimated mob of four to five thousand people had gone to witness the trial. But before the hearing of the case started, a crowd of about two hundred people had entered the compound and remained in peace outside the Jail Guard Lines.⁴⁷ By 12.30, the muezzin gave call to prayer and the people started the *Zuhar* prayer.⁴⁸ A little later the District Magistrate, the City Munsif, the Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Superintendent of Police arrived in cars. No sooner did they come out of their vehicles than the people shouted the slogans,⁴⁹ "*Allah-o-Akbar*", "*Islam Zindabad*" and "*Abdul Qadeer Zindabad*". The police charged them with batons. The infuriated people fought the police back with stones and brickbats. This was immediately followed by a face-to-face fight between the people and the police. In this fight one, Ghulam Mohammad Halwai, a retired police man, bounced upon a police sergeant Ghulam Qadir Khan snatching the gun from him. Before he could handle the gun, a police Head Constable shot him dead. In order to quell the mob, the police started firing which continued for fifteen minutes, "killing ten Muslims and injuring many others".⁵⁰ Finding that the people were resolute and determined, the authorities suddenly stopped firing and the police disappeared. The people rushed into the jail compound. They took out bedsteads from the quarters of the jail guards, placed on them the dead and the injured and carried them to the Jamia Masjid. A section of the crowd tried to set the jail on fire. But the situation was saved by the timely intervention of the fire brigade.

Communalism Imposed on the Muslims

Communalism reared its head at this critical moment. It so happened that when a procession of Muslims was carrying some injured persons for treatment to the private clinic of Doctor Abdul Wahid, a non-Kashmiri Hindu trader, Lala Bhagat

Kishen Chand, passed some derisive remarks on the Muslims and the dead and the injured. A fracas ensued between the Muslims and the Punjabi Hindus with the result that a tonga-driver, Ghulam Nabi was ruthlessly beaten by the Hindus.⁵¹ Unfortunately some Muslim miscreants took an undue advantage of the situation. They looted the shops of Lala Bhagat Kishen Chand and some neighbouring Hindu shopkeepers. When the Muslim leaders heard of this, they regretted the event and put an immediate stop to rowdyism. In the meanwhile, the native Pandits made a common cause with the non-Kashmiri Hindus against the Muslims. The relation between the native Hindus and the native Muslims became strained. Several areas in the city were rocked by communal strife. Within two or three hours of the jail incident the entire city presented the scene of a deserted battle-field. Everybody looked panic-stricken. The leaders of the Muslim community were arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Hari Parbat. The arrest of Sbeikh Mohammad Abdullah⁵² created a great consternation among the Muslim masses. An atmosphere of commotion and excitement prevailed everywhere. As the entire city was handed over to police and military, the dead could not be buried because the Government did not permit the Muslims to carry the martyrs in a procession from the Jamia Masjid to the shrine of Khwaja Naqshbandi where they were to be buried.

Burial of the Martyrs

The burial of the martyrs became an issue of controversy between the Government and the Muslim subjects. The leaders had already taken a decision that the martyrs would be buried with all the honour and respect which was due to them for their sacrifice in the cause of humanity and Islam. Speaking on the attitude of the Government Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah declared:⁵³

“The Government does not permit the people to join the funeral procession of the martyrs. I want to tell the Maharaja and his Government that the martyrs will be

carried in the procession and will be buried with all honour, dignity and pomp and show...as divinely commanded by Islam.

The issue was finally decided through the good offices of Nawab Khusrav Jung, the Minister-in-Waiting. As per decision, each bier was to be accompanied by eight persons. But when the funeral march started, thousands of people joined it, forming a procession unprecedented in the history of Kashmir. The martyrs were then buried with great solemnity, two martyrs each being buried in one grave after the manner followed in the case of the martyrs of the battle of *Uhad*.⁵⁴

The jail incident of July 13 was immediately followed by a reign of repression. The whole city of Srinagar and the suburbs were handed over to the army and the police. An unhealthy development was the part played by the non-Muslims in general and the Kashmiri Pandits in particular who identified themselves with the Government and the armed forces. In the performance of their duties, the soldiers were, from time to time, guided and accompanied by the non-Muslims. The Muslims were subjected to every kind of humiliation. Not only the active participants in the agitation but also those Muslims who had remained unconcerned with it, were made to suffer the consequences. Indiscriminate arrests and house-searches were made by the military and the police. The Muslims walking in streets were ordered to crawl on the road. Military parades in the city created an atmosphere of awe and terror. The Muslims, both high and low, were asked to shout "Maharaja-ki-Jai" and compelled to salute the State flag by bowing before it. Those who disobeyed were first beaten and then sent to the police station. Muslim passengers in buses were thoroughly searched but Hindu passengers were exempted from such searches.⁵⁵ The Muslims came to be looked upon as criminals. Thus the policy of repression was pursued vigorously.

The policy of repression did not, however, show any good results. It made the Muslims believe that the Government and the non-Muslims were pitched against them. A common Muslim at this time had two considerations in his mind. The

first consideration was that the leaders were arrested with no fault on their part and the second consideration was that the Hindus identifying themselves with the Government and its army in suppressing them were no less enemies of the Muslims and their cause than the Government itself. With these considerations in view, the Muslim leaders followed a policy of caution. They advised the people to adopt an attitude of peace. The Muslim leaders warned the Hindus that they should abandon their hostile attitude towards the Muslim cause, otherwise their attitude was bound to lead to bad consequences. It was also made clear by the Muslim leadership that the agitation would continue unabated until the grievances of the Muslim subjects were redressed and their demands granted.

The Maharaja meanwhile made a major change in his Government. Mr. Wakefield was turned out from the State and Raja Hari Krishen Koul appointed in his place. Raja Hari Krishen Koul assumed the office of the Prime Ministership on July 26, 1931. This change was in line with the pro-Hindu policy of the Maharaja as well as his Hindu subjects. The Kashmiri Pandits thought that Mr. Wakefield was an anti-Hindu Prime Minister whose policy had been "a definitely pro-Muslim policy..."⁵⁶ Even the origin of the political agitation started by the Muslims was ascribed to Wakefield who, according to the Pandits, "had already started work on these lines by gathering together rowdy and unsatisfied elements in the Muslims".⁵⁷ The appointment of Raja Hari Krishen Koul gave naturally a hope to Kashmiri Pandits who saw in him, for the time being, an ally and a protector of their rights, life and property. But the Kashmiri Pandits' hopes were soon falsified. The trouble in Kashmir was deeply rooted in the economic backwardness of the Muslims and other weaker sections of the non-Muslim population. The success and popularity of a Prime Minister depended on the extent of his ability to redress the grievances of the people. So far the Government had failed to suppress the agitation or alleviate the troubles of the people. Raja Hari Krishen Koul did not, however, give any serious attention to these basic problems. His main objective was to restore the State, by whatever means, to the condition of peace and normalcy. He did not go deep

into the causes of the Muslims' grievances and try to find out the permanent solution of trouble in Kashmir. He had rather an implicit faith in the policy of repression throughout his tenure of office. He believed in the imperialist policy of "divide and rule". Machiavelli and Kautilya were combined in him, with the result that he could neither become a popular Prime Minister nor a successful administrator in Kashmir. He failed to forge a compromise with the Kashmir leaders, imprisoned in the Hari Parbat fort.⁵⁸ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah along with his colleagues refused to give an undertaking to the Prime Minister that they would refrain in future from making any political speeches. The Prime Minister exploited the presence of famous nationalist leaders, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had come to Kashmir at the invitation of the Maharaja. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Colonel Haksar were here to advise the Maharaja on the issue of Indian federal scheme and the place of the native states therein. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had been invited in connection with the political disturbances in the State. The Maulana gave, on this occasion, the following statement which lucidly characterized the nature of the Muslim movement in Kashmir. He said:⁵⁹

If these persons (leaders) are being kept without any fault on their part in a wrongful confinement, then the Government of Kashmir are making a grave error. It appears that the real facts are not made known to the Maharaja and orders are taken from him after misrepresentation of facts; and the whole responsibility for this rests upon the present Ministers who are not the real well-wishers of the Maharaja. This is the reason that the political atmosphere in India has become disturbed by the events in Kashmir. The present political climate does not portend well for the success of the Round Table Conference obviously because of the horrifying events in Kashmir. In view of the shooting of the unarmed Muslims who have been martyred on wrongly acquired orders, it is certain that this episode will have a very deep effect on the Indian Muslims and the Muslim element in the Congress many turn hostile to it. The people interested in such political suits (as in Kashmir) attend in

thousands the court-rooms in India and in the Punjab so that they may hear the proceedings of a political trial. But this necessity has never been felt that they may be shot dead. I have learnt that the non-Muslims comprise a majority of the C.I.D. staff in the State and that they present to the Government the distorted version of the speeches delivered by the Muslims. The Maharaja must pay heed to this also. If the detenus are found not guilty there is no reason why they should not be released unconditionally. Let me advise the Kashmir Government that it should not deliberately protract the matter but use its wisdom to assuage the feelings of the Muslims. The Maharaja must call the representatives of the Muslims and listen to their grievances. If the Government of Kashmir do not act wisely and leniently on this occasion then, before long, it will find itself landed up in trouble. I am also grieved to see that the matter involved only the State and its Muslim subjects but the Hindu press presents it as a dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims. I am also much more sorry to see such newspapers as I feel ashamed of to name are ever ready against the Congress publicity and the news bulletins. I also feel sorry at the attitude of the Government of India for harping on the same note, both in the local papers of Srinagar and outside it, that the events in Kashmir are completely the result of the dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims and, at the same time, advise the subjects to live in peace and harmony. Though the fact is confined only to the oppression exercised by the Government on the Muslim subjects in connection with the hearing of the trial of one Abdul Qadeer of Allahabad, but even the name of it does not figure anywhere and in all press and publications it is being shown that the root of all this trouble is the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims. I have heard all the facts and have arrived at the conclusion that excesses have been committed by the Government in every respect. I do not want that at this critical juncture the relations between the ruler and the ruled are strained. The Government must, in whatever way, treat the Muslims with consideration. No ruler of

a country desires to see his subjects in distress. I would, therefore, intercede for the removal of all restraints placed on the six respectable persons so that they are released and given an opportunity to submit their legitimate demands."

On July 31, 1931, under the orders of His Highness all the political prisoners were unconditionally released. After this, the Prime Minister resorted to the policy of divide and rule among the Muslims. He called some influential Muslim traders, businessmen and gazetted officers to his office on August 10, 1931 and told them that it was their duty to see that law and order was ensured, the political agitation stopped and cordial relations with the Hindus were firmly established.⁶⁰ Thus the Prime Minister wanted to establish normality through his own agents, his intention being to play down the importance of the Muslim leaders.

The design of the Prime Minister to create a schism among the Muslims was foiled by the leaders. On August 11, 1931 a meeting of the representatives was held at one Pir Mohammad Maqbool's house at Khanyar, Srinagar. The meeting was also attended by all those Muslim traders and gazetted officers who had attended the Governor's meeting the previous day. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah denied the charge of the Prime Minister that the agitation started by the Muslims was communal in nature. Analysing the factors responsible for the political awakening among the Muslims, the Sheikh said, "The Muslims have committed a great sin, thinking that they are human beings...Had they continued to regard themselves as dumb-driven cattle as in the past, their relations (with the Hindus) would automatically have become friendly."⁶¹ According to the Sheikh, the continued repression of the Muslims, the role of the non-Muslims identifying themselves with the repressive machinery of the Government and the denial to the Muslims of the right to have a "direct contact with the ruler in connection with their grievances",⁶² were factors mainly responsible for the sorry state of affairs prevailing in the State.

The Kashmir Committee and the Kashmir Day

The Kashmir Committee was formed at a meeting held at Simla a week after the jail incident in Kashmir on July 13, 1931. The meeting was attended by several Muslim leaders of the Punjab and a few Muslim representatives from Jammu and Kashmir and the Frontier Province. Primarily the meeting was convened to consider the tension existing between the Kashmir Government and its Muslim subjects. The Kashmir Committee was composed of the following members:⁶³

Sir Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mohmud Ahmed (President of the Committee), Moulvi Abdul Rahim Dard (Secretary), Khan Bahadur Rahim Baksh, Syed Mohsin Shah, M. Mohammad Ismail Gazhnavi, M. Nurul-Haq, S. Habib Shah, Maulana Hasrat Mohani of Kanpur, Maulana Mohammad Yaqub (Editor of the *Light*, Lahore), Doctor Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Maulana Shafi Daoodi, M. Hassan Shahid Suhrwardy of Calcutta, Sahibzada Maulana Zaffar Alam, Wajib-ud-Din of Calcutta, Doctor Zia-ud-Din and Mian Jaffar Shah of Peshawar.

The dynamic force behind the Kashmir Committee was Dr. Sir Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mohmud Ahmed. The following were its aims:⁶⁴

First, to bring pressure upon the Government of India to help the Kashmiris in securing to them the elementary rights of humanity hitherto denied to them.

Secondly, to acquaint the ruler with the real affairs of his State.

Thirdly, to ask the Viceroy and the Foreign Department of the Government of India for appointment of an independent Commission of Inquiry in Kashmir affairs.

Fourthly, to seek a new interpretation to the Treaty of Amritsar which had deprived the Kashmiris of their proprietary rights in the State. The Kashmir Committee wanted to place this issue in the form of a demand before the British Parliament.

Finally, to make the Kashmir affairs known to the entire civilized world by writing books on Kashmir in this respect and to make wide circulation of the same in England.

The Kashmir Committee started its activities through negotiations with the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Many requests were made to the State Government to find out some permanent solution of the Kashmir trouble. On August 3, 1931, the Secretary of the Committee requested the Maharaja to allow a deputation of the Kashmir Committee "in connection with the Kashmir situation".⁶⁵ But the Maharaja rejected the request on the ground that "the visit of deputation at this time will lead to the revival of excitement in the State".⁶⁶ "With a view to informing the Muslim public of the country of the real state of affairs in Kashmir and to draw the attention of the State and the Government of India towards the necessity of protecting the rights of the Moslems of Kashmir"⁶⁷, the All India Kashmir Committee, having failed to have negotiations with the Kashmir Government, announced that the Kashmir Day would be celebrated on August 14, 1931.

Kashmir Day Celebrated

Accordingly, on August 14, the Kashmir Day was celebrated with tremendous enthusiasm both within and without the State. Public meetings, processions and peaceful demonstrations were the main features of the celebrations. The general nature of the resolutions passed in the meetings held in connection with the Kashmir Day related to:⁶⁸

- (i) The removal of restrictions on conversion from Hinduism to Islam and the removal of disabilities with regard to rights of inheritance and guardianship over the wife and children of a Hindu converted to Islam;
- (ii) Securing the people of Kashmir their basic rights of the freedom of speech and expression, the freedom of association, the freedom of press and platform and the proprietary rights in land to the peasants in Kashmir as enjoyed by the peasants in the Punjab;

- (iii) Securing seventy per cent of the appointments in the State services to the Muslims;
- (iv) Awarding of punishments to those persons who were found guilty, after proper investigations, of having been involved in interference with the religious practices of Muslim subjects of the State;
- (v) Establishing of a Legislature in the State;
- (vi) Restoring to the Muslims their mosques, shrines, graveyards and other sacred places with the properties attached to such places, which were either in possession of the State or which were handed over to any third party;
- (vii) Reinstating of all officials who had been either dismissed or suspended from their services or whose promotion had been stopped or who were otherwise punished in connection with the political agitation;
- (viii) Compensating the dependents of persons killed, injured or disabled during the agitation; and
- (ix) Appointing an impartial Commission of Inquiry to investigate into the conduct of civil and military officials during the agitation and award punishments to the officials found guilty of misconduct.

The one remarkable effect of the Kashmir day celebrations was that the events in Kashmir were projected far and wide on the entire national politics in India. Kashmir Day was enthusiastically celebrated in the entire Punjab⁶⁹ as well as other places in India.

Ferozpur

After the evening prayers were offered, the Muslims of Gorakhpur held a big public meeting, on August 14, 1931, in the compound of *Anjuman-i-Islamia*, Ferozpur. The meeting was presided over by Chowdhry Moulla Baksh, Rais-i-Ferozpur Contonment. The following seven resolutions were passed at the end of the meeting:⁷⁰

- (1) The first resolution expressed its protest against the

tyranny inflicted upon its Muslim subjects by the Kashmir Durbar and looked down upon the State authorities for committing the deeds of cruelty in order to suppress the Kashmir Muslims.

- (2) The second resolution gave assurance to the Kashmir Muslims that the entire Muslim India was shoulder to shoulder with them in their trouble and misfortunes and were also ever ready to give them every kind of help.
- (3) The third resolution expressed no-confidence in "the present Inquiry Committee which is entrusted with the task of investigating into the injustice done to the Muslims of Srinagar".
- (4) The fourth resolution made a request to the Viceroy of India and the Secretary of State for India for the appointment of an impartial Commission of Inquiry with a view to listening to the grievances of the Muslims of Kashmir and do justice to them.
- (5) The fifth resolution regarded the report submitted by the Wakefield Committee on "the Tauhin-i-Quran" in Jammu as the most unsatisfactory and deemed that the Report had further injured the sentiments of the Indian Muslims.
- (6) The sixth resolution looked down upon the decision of the Additional Magistrate according to which Khem Chand, Sub-Inspector of Police who had prohibited the reading of *Khutba* on the Id-day, had been absolved. This decision had insulted the entire Muslim community in India.
- (7) The last resolution said that all the resolutions passed in the meeting be published in newspapers and the proceedings thereof sent to the Kashmir Committee.

Delhi

The Muslims of Delhi celebrated the Kashmir Day for two consecutive days. On August 14, 1931, at 4 p.m., a big procession was organised which marched through Chandni Chowk and then assembled at Jamia Masjid. The processionists carried a "number of red, black, green and yellow banners bearing inscriptions". The crowd shouted slogans "long live Islam"; "long

five martyrs of Kashmir". A resolution expressing sympathy with the Muslims of Kashmir and urging upon the Maharaja to do justice to them was passed at the end of the meeting.⁷¹

Another well-attended meeting of the Delhi Muslims was held at Jamia Masjid on August 15, 1931. The meeting was presided over by Hakim Ghulam Kibriya Khan Rais-i-Azam. The following resolutions were passed:⁷²

- (1) The first resolution moved by Maulana Sultan Mohammad, seconded and further supported by Maulana Mazhar-ud-Din and Maulana Syed Mohmud respectively drew the attention of the Viceroy of India to the grave situation that had arisen in Kashmir where the authorities had not only insulted their religion but also fired at the mob of an innocent, unarmed and peaceful Muslims, killing many of them and injuring hundreds; where they (Muslims) were being subjected to various kinds of atrocities and oppressions; and where the Muslims who predominated in the population of the State, were prevented from observing their religious rites. The resolution also requested His Excellency that through his personal influence the Kashmir Durbar be persuaded to restore their usurped rights to the Muslim subjects of the State and the wrongs perpetrated on them amended.
- (2) The second resolution moved by Maulana Mufti Kifayat-Ullah, seconded and further supported by Maulvi Mohammad Zubair and Maulana Abdul Hamid respectively drew the attention of the Maharaja of Kashmir to the grief and anger caused among the Indian Muslims due to the tyrannical behaviour of the authorities towards the Muslim subjects in Kashmir and also due to their undue interference in religious affairs, the shooting of innocent and unarmed Muslims and depriving them of their rightful share in the State service and also preventing them from following their religious avocation. Stating that the real facts were not made known to him, the resolution hopefully requested the Maharaja to do justice to his Muslim subjects and urged upon him to

appoint an impartial Committee enjoying the confidence of the Kashmir Muslims for purposes of giving due punishment to all those officials who had committed atrocities.

- (3) The third resolution, moved by Maulana Abdul Wahid and seconded by Syeed Sageer Ali, expressed sympathy with the Muslim subjects, including the bereaved and the injured, of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Randir (Surat District)

The *Young Mohammadan Brotherhood of Randir* organised a public meeting on August 14, 1931. The meeting was presided over by Moulvi Abdul Rahim, editor of the *Risala Sadiq*. Besides the president, Maulana Moulvi Mufti Syed Mehdi Hassan and Seth Haji Ibrahim Singapori threw light on the events in Kashmir. The following three resolutions were passed at the end of the meeting:⁷³

- (1) The first resolution, expressing a strong protest against the atrocities perpetrated by the Kashmir Durbar on its Muslims subjects and the insult to the Holy Quran, warned the State for the consequences against the continued policy of oppression.
- (2) The second resolution drew the attention of the Viceroy of India to the unlimited hardships suffered by the Muslim subjects in Kashmir and demanded not only justice for them but also the appointment of an independent and impartial Commission with a view to providing the victims with an atmosphere of peace and comfort so as to assuage their injured feelings.
- (3) The third resolution expressed sympathy with the oppressed Muslims of Kashmir.

Gorakhpur

- { The Muslims of Gorakhpur celebrated the Kashmir Day on August 14, 1931 at the Jamia Masjid, where a public meeting was presided over by Moulvi Nazir Ahmed. A resolution⁷⁴

expressing a deeply felt grief over the horrible events in Kashmir and looking down upon the continued oppression exercised by the State authorities on the Muslim subjects in various parts of the State, in general, and Srinagar, in particular, was passed. The resolution warned the State that until it did not accept the legitimate demands of the Muslim subjects, the Muslim excitement in Kashmir and the enthusiasm of the Muslims in India would not subside.

Bombay

In Bombay a big procession was taken out from Khilafat House, Byculla in connection with the Kashmir Day celebrations. The processionists carried flags and banners. The procession assembled at Esplanade Maidan where a public meeting was held under the presidentship of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Another meeting was presided over by Maulana Hasrat Shah Kakli. The meeting demanded that an All India Conference should be appointed for purpose of inquiring into the causes of riots in Kashmir and the methods adopted by the Government to suppress the Muslim subjects.⁷⁵

Calcutta

A meeting of the representatives of the Calcutta Muslims was held in the Halleday Park to celebrate the Kashmir Day. The meeting was presided over by Sir Abdullah Suharwardy. Addressing the meeting Sir Suharwardy said:⁷⁶

“It was farthest from truth that the present agitation in Kashmir was communal in character but the grievances of the Mohammadans of Kashmir were genuine and from the perusal of the catalogue of wrongs it was quite obvious that there was something rotten somewhere in the State”.

Resolutions were passed in the meeting drawing the attention of the Viceroy and the Maharaja of Kashmir to the grievances of the Muslims in the State and urging a speedy redress of the same.

Simla

At the end of a meeting held in Simla under the presidentship of the Honourable Syed Hussain Imam, member of the Council, of the State, the following resolutions were passed:⁷⁷

- (1) The first resolution demanded the appointment of an independent body to inquire into "the recent troubles in Kashmir" and also demanded that a barrister from outside the State be permitted to enter the State to defend cases pending in connection with the riots. The resolution also denied the charges levelled by the State and certain sections of the press that the Muslims wanted to capture Hindu States one after the other. The resolution demanded a fair justice for the Muslim subjects.
- (2) The second resolution condemned the shooting on an innocent mob of Muslims by the State and demanded the abolition of all such rules as were hostile to the religion of the Muslims. The resolution also demanded a complete freedom of religion and the social, economic, political and moral progress for the Muslim subjects in the State.
- (3) The third resolution urged upon the Maharaja to recognize the proprietary rights of land for the Muslim Zamindars and demanded an equal distribution of the State services and a share in the Ministry in proportion to their population in the State.

The Kashmir Day was, thus, celebrated by the Indian Muslims on moral grounds. This moral justification was in turn based on the religious affinity between them and the Kashmir Muslims. Speaking in favour of their support to the Kashmir agitation, Dr. Sir Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal said:⁷⁸

"The Mohammadans of India could no longer remain indifferent to these very just demands of their oppressed brethren in Kashmir, and, therefore, they are now determined to

carry on this agitation on behalf of Kashmir Mohammadans until their grievances are redressed."

The Kashmir agitation was also supported on humanitarian grounds. It was to support a down-trodden humanity ranged against an ill-advised autocracy. The Kashmir agitation, argued Dr. Iqbal, was not a communal agitation. It was a part of the international liberation movements. He said:⁷⁹

"The spirit of revolution has awakened mankind from one end of the globe to the other. The Mohammadans of Kashmir could not remain unaffected by these world events. A Maharaja or a Nawab whoever he might be cannot carry on with his Government without the consent of the governed."

The Muslims of India refused to accept the contention of Hindus of India and of the State that the Muslims wanted to capture Hindu States one after the other. The Muslims in Kashmir urged the Maharaja to follow a policy of religious toleration, a policy which aimed at the socio-economic, political and moral progress of his subjects.⁸⁰ The British intervention in the Kashmir affairs was also sought by the Muslims to persuade the Maharaja to look into their grievances, and any help from the Indian Muslims was welcome in the conduct of their freedom movement.⁸¹

Kashmir Day in the Jammu and Kashmir State

Despite the ban on political movements, the Kashmir Day was celebrated in the entire State much beyond expectations. On August 14, the entire Muslim world in Kashmirobse rved a full-day *hartal*. Men, women and children participated in the celebration. The people wore black badges on their arms, expressing the grief over the death of the martyrs. A mammoth public meeting, attended by fifty thousand people, was held at the Jamia Masjid. It was addressed by many leaders who spoke of the importance of martyrdom in the cause of humanity. Also, the Maharaja was warned of the consequences of the repressive

policy of his Government against the Muslim masses. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting:⁸²

- (i) The removal of oppressive officials from the administration and those officials who had acted prejudicially towards the Muslims;
- (ii) Punishment of all civil and military officials whose conduct was prejudicial towards the Muslims during the agitation and who had maltreated the political prisoners in order to compel them to give false evidence;
- (iii) Release of political prisoners;
- (iv) Payment of compensation to the dependents of the people either killed or disabled by police firing during the agitation;
- (v) Immediate dismissal of Raja Hari Krishen Koul and his favourites from the State services;
- (vi) Appeal to the Hindus of the State to change their attitude towards the Muslims and establish communal harmony and friendship with them; and
- (vii) Expression of sympathy with those bereaved whose kith and kin were killed during the agitation.

A careful study of these resolutions will show that they were only a shadow without substance. Not a single resolution was of any political significance. It was quite clear that the leadership was not yet prepared to push forward their radical demands.

Memorial of Grievances

On August 15, 1931, the representatives of the Muslims, namely, Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, Yaqub Ali, Munshi Shihab-ud-Din, Ghulam Abbas and Gauhar Rehman, waited upon His Highness at Karanbagh and presented to him, at 3 p.m., a long representation stating certain alleged grievances.⁸³ The representation was read out by Saad-ud-Din Shawl.⁸⁴ The memorial of grievances expressed the loyalty shown by the

Muslim subjects to His Highness. Many examples of the loyalty shown by the Muslims from time to time were quoted in it.⁸⁶ The rest of the memorial contained, more or less, a series of accusations levelled against the Hindu subjects, the Hindu officials and the Prime Minister. Other grievances related to:⁸⁶

- (I) The inability of the Muslims to wait upon and see the Maharaja in person because they were dubbed communalists;
- (II) The baselessness of the charge that the Muslims were cow-slaughterers and wanted to establish their own system of Government;
- (III) Heart-rending, painful and dangerous policy of Raja Hari Krishen Koul and his pro-Hindu attitude;
- (IV) Inability of the Government to take action against the Hindus for their political activities in favour of the Indian National Congress which was an unlawful body in the State;
- (V) Inability of the Government to take any action against the military officials for their excesses and the jail authorities for the severe treatment given to political prisoners to obtain confessions from them; and
- (VI) The partial attitude of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Maharaja to report on the circumstances that had led to the jail firing on 13th July, 1931.

It can be said that the memorial of grievances was not a politically significant document. The very contents of the memorial revealed the lack of political maturity and statesmanship on the part of its signatories. Even the grievances expressed were not of any substantial nature. The memorial was actually a series of accusations against the Prime Minister and the tyranny of the State officials, both civil and military. Beyond it, it fell short of public expectations. It was criticised as "a political manoeuvre to bide time, to dislodge a Hindu Prime Minister...and thereby to weaken the Maharaja...and that the time was not yet ripe for the interference of the Political Department of Government of India".⁸⁷ But this criticism does

not stand the test of the time for various reasons. In the first place, there was no guarantee that the political demands of the Muslims would even be considered, not to speak of granting them, in the light of the mood of the Government headed by Raja Hari Krishen Koul. The main concern of the Government was to crush the movement and suppress the agitators who were regarded as communalists and seditious. Another reason was that the political agitation in the State was in the process of development. The forces of opposition in collaboration with the Government were arranged against it. The leaders did not consider the time fit for presenting any demand in that atmosphere of hostility. Condition of peace and normalcy were felt necessary for presenting the demands. The time factor was the only consideration with them.

Temporary truce

On August 26, 1931 a temporary truce in the form of an undertaking was signed by the Muslim representatives and the Prime Minister of the State. Originally, there was no reason for the Muslim leaders to have given the undertaking to the Government. The truce or undertaking was the result of the frustration caused among the representatives by the reply given to their memorial of grievances by the Maharaja on August 24, 1931. In his reply the Maharaja had very diplomatically turned down every argument pleaded by the Muslim leaders in their memorial. With regard to the grievances against the Prime Minister, the Maharaja delineated appreciably "the conduct of the State Executive headed by the Prime Minister in the matter of recent jail riots and the commendable sense of responsibility with which it discharged its obvious duties".⁸⁸ The Maharaja expressed, therefore, his "unwillingness to displace the Prime Minister in whom he said he had confidence".⁸⁹ The reply of the Maharaja threw cold water on the expectations of the Muslim leaders. They now looked at things from the revolutionary point of view. They declared boycott against the Commission of Inquiry into the jail firing appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Bajor Dalal. As this agitation was going on, a surprising development took place in the political events in the State. Syed Sir Nawab Mehar Ali,

a moderate politician in British India had come to Srinagar to try for a compromise between the State and its Muslim subjects. His sobering influence brought about an understanding between the Maharaja and the Muslim representatives. This understanding came to be known as the temporary truce. By this truce, the Muslim representatives undertook to completely stop the political agitation in future. It was also undertaken that the Muslims would remain loyal to the Maharaja; that they would not be affected by the outside influence; that they would present their legitimate demands in due course of time to the Maharaja. The Muslim representatives expressed their gratitude to the Prime Minister for his magnanimity which he had exhibited in arriving at the understanding. They also pledged to obey the laws in force in the State.⁹⁰ The Government, on the other hand, undertook to suspend all stringent measures in operation. Pending the report of the Inquiry Commission, the High Court was directed to release all political prisoners on bail and their trial was suspended. With regard to the State servants dismissed, suspended or down-graded in connection with the agitation, the Government undertook to reinstate them on the condition that in future they would not take part in any agitation.

People's Reaction to the Truce

The temporary truce created a great resentment in the Muslim minds against their representatives. It exposed the lack of political foresight of the signatories. From its study it becomes clear that the truce was more in favour of the Government than in the interests of the Muslim masses. By giving the undertaking the leaders had inadvertently put themselves under a political bondage. They were bound to obey the laws, however crucial those might be. Besides, the truce was a unilateral act of the representatives. The people were not consulted at all. It was, therefore, the worst type of a middle class bargaining at the cost of martyrs' blood and the people's sacrifices. Nothing in the truce dealt with 'the underlying grievances but only with matters arising out of the agitation and its causes'.⁹¹ It was, therefore, natural that the masses should resent it. This popu-

ar resentment was expressed at a public meeting held at the Jamia Masjid on 28th August, 1931 as the representatives announced the terms of the truce of the audience. The people were irked and spoke ill of their leaders, the main targets being Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. "When the leaders announced the truce and told the public that they would go to Islamabad and other places to announce it to the people there, the audience, about seventy thousand, raised a great hue and cry against the truce".⁹² The common Muslim had felt that the leaders were "selfish and cared more for their own prestige and power than the interests of the poor people".⁹³ The people's response upset the leaders. They explained their position. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah swore on the Quran that they would never betray the nation. The Sheikh pleaded that he held the nation dearer than his own life. He said:⁹⁴

"The Government asked for two months to consider our demands. If during this period the Government practised deception we shall not sit quiet, nor shall we let the Government feel comfortable. You will see it very soon that our sacrifice for the nation will puzzle the Government of Kashmir, the Government of India and the entire world."

But such justification could hardly pacify the revolutionary spirit of the people. The truce was, contrarily, appreciated by the vested interests and anti-revolutionary forces such as *Jagirdars* and Landlords.⁹⁵ The Kashmiri Pandits opposed the truce on a funny ground. They contended that the Government should not have parleyed and bargained with the Muslims who were rioters, looters and communalists. Their main objection was that the Government should have consulted the Pandit community before the truce was made.

The immediate gain of the truce, however, was that forty-eight political prisoners were released on bail and proceedings against them were suspended till the report of the Inquiry Commission was announced. Orders to "suspend all cases under sections 107 and 144 of Criminal Procedure Code were issued also".⁹⁶ Beyond this, the Government was rather slack in

implementing the terms of the truce and it made "undue delay in taking action in accordance with them".⁹⁷ The slackness of the Government made the Muslim leaders suspicious about the former's intentions. They expressed their disappointment over the delay. The Kashmir Pandit community was, at the same time, exhibiting a hostile political behaviour towards the Muslims. They openly criticised the Muslim leadership in their public meetings.⁹⁸ The method of political extremism such as the boycott of Muslim shops and the use of physical force against the Muslims were preached. At a public meeting held at Raghu Nath Mandir, the Pandits were told that "a Hindu girl must be so strong enough as to subdue five Muslim males at a time and five Hindu males so powerful as to subdue ninety-nine Muslims at a time".⁹⁹ Even the Pandits had grown hostile against the Government, and blamed the latter for having made the truce with the Muslims without their consent. They said that the Dogras were stupid and "the Maharaja was an inefficient ruler and his administration, incompetent".¹⁰⁰ The Kashmiri Pandits who considered themselves secular nationalists did not even appreciate the statement of Dr. Mohammad Alam, a reputed Congressite, "that the demands of the Kashmiri Muslims were of national character".¹⁰¹ It was under these circumstances that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made bold statements, warning the Government to abide by the terms of the truce. He also warned the Kashmiri Pandits against the dangers of unnecessarily indulging in anti-Muslim propaganda.¹⁰² The Government took a very serious note of these warnings and used them as a pretext to arrest the leaders.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah Arrested

On September 21, 1931, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was arrested on the ground that "before and after the truce he broke the understanding by making political speeches in mosques under cloak of religious exhortations".¹⁰³ Another allegation was that the Qadian Party was anxious to keep the agitation alive in order to prevent the Ahrar Party from gaining credit for a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. The Government had information that "Abdullah received constant letters from the

Punjab calling on him to revive"¹⁰⁴ the agitation. His arrest was made under section 107 of the Penal Code according to which he had laid himself open to prosecution. The trial of the actual case was, however, postponed until feelings caused by his arrest in the people were subsided.

The arrest of the Sheikh was followed, as usual, by popular agitation. A complete hartal was observed from down the Third Bridge upto the Seventh Bridge and a partial hartal in the first Three Bridges and the Civil lines. Public meetings were held as a mark of protest against the event. On September 22, twenty-two thousand people assembled in the Jamia Masjid for a meeting. The Government immediately despatched police and army to prevent the people from taking out a procession. The military surrounded the mosque and a crowd of people assaulted them with stones. The military reacted, "...fire was opened; two killed by firing, one by cavalry when trying to disperse the crowd".¹⁰⁵ The fourth was also killed and about thirty injured.¹⁰⁶ The entire drama was played within "five minutes under the command of Thakur Kartar Singh".¹⁰⁷ The city was placed under curfew and section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was put in force. But these restrictive measures could not daunt the people. Open confrontation between the people and the military took place at various places. Despite the warnings of the Government, the volunteers organised demonstrations and public processions. One such procession was organised by women and children at Goakadal. The procession was lathi-charged and dispersed. Another one was organised by the inhabitants of Basant Bagh. It came into direct confrontation with the military. Fire was opened and ten persons were killed and many others injured. The dead were directly carried to the Jamia Masjid. From there the people wanted to take the dead bodies in a procession to the burial place but they were not allowed to do so at first. The Government order permitted the people to "limit the funeral to fifty persons and the people refused to allow fifty persons to accompany the body of each dead rioter to graveyard".¹⁰⁸ However, the order was withdrawn and the dead were carried in a procession in the afternoon, on 23rd September, to graveyard without any clash with the troops.¹⁰⁹ These ruthless

killings created an atmosphere of desolation in the city. Srinagar looked like an "armed camp". Every street had a contingent of military men and the ever vigilant police asked the people to move on and not form into small groups".¹¹⁰ But the more repression there was, the more rebellious the people became.

First Armed Resistance

September 24, 1931, saw the first armed resistance of Kashmiri Muslims against the excesses of the Government. A day earlier, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah had declared an armed revolt against the oppressors. He had called upon the people to assemble at Khanyar armed with any kind of weapon. On September 24, the city of Srinagar was pasted with notices to the effect that the "Mohammadans have no quarrel with the Hindus but have declared jihad against His Highness' Government".¹¹¹ During the midnight of 23rd and 24th September, the Governor of Kashmir got warrants issued against Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Ahmed Ashai and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi. Three Superintendents of Police were assigned the task of getting the three wanted persons arrested before dawn. Accordingly three contingents of policemen went to the houses of the wanted persons. But the police had to withdraw their action because the houses were already guarded by a large number of crowds, making it difficult for the authorities to arrest them. Soon after police had gone back, the three wanted persons left their homes and went in disguise to the residence of Saad-ud-Din Shawl at Khanyar. The people also began to rush in groups to Khanyar according to the scheduled programme. Armed with axes, spades, hoes, scythes, pick-axes, knives, harpoons, swords and sticks, about fifteen thousand people had assembled by 1 p.m. Also, people from adjacent villages and towns "continued to come in spite of posting of pickets to prevent incursions of villages to whom messages have been sent by city agitators".¹¹² Roads were blocked at various places. Military exercises were demonstrated. The spirit of do-or-die surcharged them. The authorities appointed for maintenance of peace and order were openly defied. A state of revolution prevailed everywhere. This

situation convinced the Maharaja that the people were intent on an open revolt. He, however, acted very cautiously. He sent at 1 p.m. an official deputation consisting of Nawab Khusroa Jung, Abdul Rehman Afandi, Khwaja Salam Shah, (Wazir-i-wazarat) and Khwaja Nur Shah (a revenue officer) to see and discuss the situation with the leaders assembled at Khanyar. In order to save the situation from getting worse, the following demands were placed before the official deputation for an immediate grant by the Maharaja:¹¹³

- (i) Immediate release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other political prisoners.
- (ii) All orders issued to the leaders in future should bear the signature of the Maharaja, because the Muslim leaders had no trust in the Hindu officers.
- (iii) The Prime Minister and the Governor of Kashmir should immediately be dismissed from their services and the excesses exercised on Muslim subjects by them should be investigated.

The above mentioned demands were placed before the Maharaja by the official deputation. At six in the afternoon the Maharaja met the deputation consisting of Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shahl, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Moulvi Abdullah Vakil. The Maharaja said that "he was always ready to receive representations constitutionally made but declined to dismiss any Minister in response to threat. Deputation withdrew disappointed".¹¹⁴ In the evening the leaders announced to the people at Khanyar the date on which they were asked to meet at the Jamia Masjid where they would be told about the future programme. The people left for their homes rather disappointed.

19-L (Burma Ordinance)

A special notification on the lines of Burma Ordinance was issued in the evening of September 24. This Ordinance authorised the military and police officers to exercise special powers. From September 25, the city was handed over to the military.

The leaders were arrested. Of the three wanted persons, Khwaja Saad ud-Din Shawl was arrested on the night between 25 and 26 September, and the other two persons, Ghulam Ahmed Ashai and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, a salesman in a local shop, gave themselves up on September 26, after a military demonstration in the city on September 25, 1931.¹¹⁵

The news of the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the disturbances in Srinagar on September 22 had become widely known to the public living in villages and towns of Kashmir. On September 23, "hartal was observed by the Musalmans in Islamabad for the reason of Abdullah's arrest and the loss of life which had occurred in Srinagar on 22nd."¹¹⁶ Large meetings were held "in the afternoon...police attempted in vain to make mob disperse after meeting. Troops had been summoned and the crowd attempted to wrest rifle from the hand of sepoy, fire in self-defence".¹¹⁷ As a result of firing the number of persons killed were twenty-one and those wounded twenty-seven.¹¹⁸ The people were not allowed to carry the dead in a procession for burial. The bodies were, however, permitted to be buried on September 25 at a place close to the shrine of Rishi Sahib. Shopian, another big town, witnessed agitation on September 24, 1931, which assumed a mass revolutionary character when a crowd of excited people "attacked an Indian Inspector and about eight constables who had been watching prayer. Police fled to station but before they could reach it, Head constable was beaten to death. Sub-Inspector took refuge in the police station into which Mohammadans forced their way and severely beat him, burning records and other State properties."¹¹⁹ A fire was then opened on the mob, killing two persons and injuring several others. Shopian was immediately brought under the Ordinance 19-L. Similarly agitation was started in Sopore, Baramullah and Handawara.¹²⁰ The whole of Kashmir seethed with the fervour of revolution.

The Jammu province was also affected by these events. Public meetings were organised by the Muslims there to protest against the arrest of the leaders in Kashmir and the loss of life caused by the ruthless firing of the military forces. Resolutions were passed demanding an immediate release of the leaders. The Government was warned that in case the leaders were not

released, the Jammu Muslims would start a civil disobedience movement.¹²¹ The agitation subsided, though temporarily, in the face of armed forces and repressive measures.

Government's Repression

The arrest of the Muslim leaders and the consequent mass agitation was followed by heavy repression. Under the special Ordinance, 19-L, the entire city and other affected areas were handed over to the military. A special Magistracy was also established for purposes of deciding the cases arising out of the breach of Section 144 and the Special Notification. All except Europeans were required to remain within the close doors. The army was "ordered to perform a route march...taking with them His Highness' standard..."¹²² The way-farers were asked to remain standing on the road and salute the State-flag. Those who did not obey the behest were "brutally assaulted by the military men who left the ranks for this purpose".¹²³ A State-flag was also pitched near the Jamia Masjid and every Muslim was required, before entering the mosque for prayer, to salute the flag first".¹²⁴ The military men behaved in "a scandalously inhuman manner by beating and kicking defenceless men".¹⁻⁶ The Cavalry soldiers called on the inhabitants and forced them to shout *Maharaja-Ki-Jai*.¹²⁵ Under the Ordinance, ordinary Sub-Inspectors of Police were equipped with special powers of arrest and detention. Offences committed under the Ordinance were summarily tried and the guilty were imprisoned, fined and flogged. The flogging centres were not always hidden places. The torture was carried out in a most inhuman manner. The convict was first stripped naked of all clothes, then tied to a tripod and then flogged. Sometimes the flogging was exposed to the public eyes both in the city and the towns.¹²⁷ The punishment by flogging was exploited by the police in their own interests. It became a source of income for the corrupt officials. The people paid handsome amounts to escape this torture and insult. In addition to this, the cavalry soldiers went about the town, entered the houses, looted them and "abused their women folk".¹²⁸ In Shopian Muslim males over ten years of age were called to attend the identification parades at the police station.

They were kept there for days "without food and water; they were beaten and compelled to prostrate before the State-flag set up at the military camp".¹²⁹ In order to escape terrorism, many villagers ran away from their homes to places of safety, leaving behind their property. Besides, the *Imams* of mosques were ordered to give an undertaking to the effect that no political speeches would be delivered in mosques. Making political speeches in mosques was made unlawful, and punishable.¹³⁰ A special watch was kept over those persons who were supposed to have political affiliations. Even persons released on bail were not allowed to move about without the prior permission of the concerned authorities. They were required to present themselves to the authorities whenever and wherever required.¹³¹

Far from ending the political crisis, the repressive measures only augmented the revolutionary fervour of the people. The repressive measures adopted by the State to crush the freedom movement were criticised in and outside the State. In a meeting held at Mussori on September 27, 1931, the Punjab Muslims appealed to the British Government for intervention in Kashmir affairs to "save the poor Muslims of Kashmir from the great tyranny".¹³² Similarly, at a meeting of the All India Muslim League held at Delhi under the presidency of Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq, it was demanded that "the Maharaja should grant the demands to his Muslim subjects".¹³³ The national press was also not only censorious of the Government's tyranny over the Muslim subjects but also the best judge of characterising the nature of the struggle for freedom launched by the Muslims of Kashmir. The Tribune of Lahore vehemently condemned the State for the flogging and imposition of Burma Ordinance.¹³⁴ In its editorial columns "*the Hind*" wrote:¹³⁵

We are surprised at the attitude of those Hindus who call themselves nationalists and, who, instead of helping the oppressed Muslims of Kashmir, insist upon keeping them in their present state of backwardness. If the oppression is bad, it is bad for everyone, and everywhere; whether the oppressed is a Hindu or a Muslim; or whether he is in British India or in Kashmir or in any other Islamic state...We hold

the view that it is the duty of every patriot to secure justice to the Muslims of Kashmir.

The Aljamat of Delhi characterised the Kashmir Muslim movement thus:¹³⁶

...This war is, in fact, a war of the oppressed against the oppressor and its aim is nothing more or less than to seek justice and redress. If the ruler were a Muslim and his subjects the Hindus, the war would have been fought on similar grounds and entire world of justice would have helped the oppressed and opposed the oppressor.

By this time the freedom struggle in Kashmir had earned a considerable moral support from Indian people.

General Amnesty and Release of Political Prisoners

On October 5, 1931 the Maharaja granted general amnesty to all political prisoners and they were unconditionally released. This gesture was not motivated so much by a feeling of mercy as by the realization that the policy of repression hitherto followed by the Government had proved a total failure. No serious and sincere effort had ever been made by his Government to resolve the Kashmir issue. The policy of repression had brought the State and its ruler under a cloud. Another reason that compelled the Maharaja to release the political prisoners was the authoritative advice given in this respect by the Government of India. In view of the tension between the Hindus and the Muslims over the Kashmir issue in British India, the British Government wanted the Maharaja to follow a policy of reconciliation rather than the policy of harassment and antagonism towards his Muslim subjects. This would not only restore peace and normalcy in the State, but would also normalise the relations between the two communities in the State. The Maharaja had already accepted the British line of action. In a letter addressed to the Resident on October 6, 1931, the Maharaja wrote:¹³⁷

"I was contemplating the grant of general amnesty on the occasion of my birth day (which fell this year on the 5th October) with a view to restoration of absolutely normal conditions."

In his proclamation of general amnesty, the Maharaja expressed deep sorrow at the loss of lives and tragic incidents of the previous months. The proclamation said:¹³⁸

"...the experience of many persons assembled here (would show) that parents have at times to use force in bringing refractory children to order. But the parent has not the heart to continue to punish the child after it has ceased to be disobedient. What applies to the parents in their dealing with the children applies to the rulers of Indian states in dealing with their people..."

With the parental touch given to the rule of autocracy, the Government withdrew Notification 19-L of 1988 Samvat. The emergency measures were abrogated and the troops were immediately withdrawn from the civil and other affected areas. The political prisoners convicted under Notification 19-L were released. The release of the leaders was the first victory of the masses. But the non-Muslims and a few Muslim renegades felt unhappy at their release.¹³⁹

On October 6, 1931, the Muslim leaders organised a public meeting at the Jamia Masjid where a resolution was passed to facilitate the Maharaja on his birth day. The resolution also expressed the hope that "the demands of the Muslim subjects which will soon be presented to His Highness, may receive the honour of acceptance so that the Muslim subjects also may come out of their degraded position and attain a place of honour in their own country".¹⁴⁰ The main task before the Muslim leaders now was to prepare a draft of demands which necessitated an atmosphere of peace in the State. Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah made a fervent appeal to a huge gathering at the Jamia Masjid on October 9, 1931, urging upon "all sympathisers both in and outside the State to suspend all their activities for the time being and take no action likely to create obstacles in meeting

the demands of the Muslims".¹⁴¹ The Moulvi promised the people that the demands would be submitted within a week's time.

On the midnight of 12th and 13th of September, the All India Kashmir Committee had passed a resolution at a meeting held at Simla, recommending to the Muslim representatives of Kashmir to submit immediately their demands to the Government and *inform* it that in case the demands so presented were not favourably considered, "the truce shall be deemed as null and void".¹⁴²

In order to see that the Hindus and Muslims of British India remained unaffected from the so-called communalism in Kashmir which undoubtedly had put a great strain in the relations between the two communities there, the Government of India advised the Maharaja "to take definite and immediate steps to remedy more obvious grievances of Mohammadan subjects...and other measures in which Kashmir laws differ markedly from those of British India to the detriment of Mohammadans".¹⁴³ The result of this advice was that the Maharaja proclaimed on October 5, 1931 that "if any sections of my subjects desire to submit any reasonable requests they will receive my sympathetic consideration".¹⁴⁴ The Muslims decided in response to this call to present their demands on the 14th October. But the demands could not be presented in time, the reason being that the two draft demands, one prepared by the Ahmadiya party and the other by the Ahrars did not reach Srinagar from the Punjab in time. They arrived by October 15 and were discussed at a meeting attended by the Kashmiri leaders and two representatives each from the Ahmadiya and the Ahrar party. As a result of this discussion a memorial containing the demands of the Muslims of Kashmir was drafted on the basis of the two draft demands and then duly presented to the Maharaja.

Political Demands Presented

The political demands were presented to the Maharaja on October 19, 1931.¹⁴⁵ The memorial was a historical document of great importance. It was an embodiment of a long series of unbearable hardships and disabilities under which the Muslims

had been living. The Muslim community was forced to the conclusion that "without the reforms and improvements...the lives of the Muslim subjects...will continue to be extremely miserable".¹⁴⁶

These demands were:¹⁴⁷

- (i) The establishment of a system of Government based on the principle of trust and cooperation between the ruler and the ruled;
- (ii) The establishment of a democratic form of Government in Jammu and Kashmir in which the Executive was responsible to the people;
- (iii) Guaranteeing the people the right to freedom of speech and expression, freedom of press and platform, freedom to form association and assembly, and freedom of religion;
- (iv) The establishment of a legislature in the State;
- (v) The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry for investigating into the grievances of Zamindars against the tyrannies of the officials of the State departments of Police, Revenue, Forest, Games and Mulberry Culture;
- (vi) The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry for investigating into the conduct of civil and military officials towards the Muslims during the political agitation;
- (vii) The appointment of a Commission to inquire into the conditions of the labouring classes and the hours of labour put in by them;
- (viii) The establishment of a Military College for the Muslims of the State and granting them the right to possess arms;
- (ix) The establishment of more schools, middle and primary, in the centres of Muslim population;
- (x) The reservation of seats for Muslims in professional and technical institutions and in scientific faculties of schools and Colleges;
- (xi) Change of medium of instruction from Hindi to Urdu in certain girl schools where Hindi was taught; and

- (xii) **Levy**ing of equal tax on goats and sheep and reclaiming the Bakarwals (shepherds of goats) from the taint of being a criminal tribe.

These demands assumed an important place in the politics of the State and were hailed throughout the length and breadth of the State. On October 20, 1931, a huge public meeting was organised at Khanqah-i-Mualla under the presidentship of Maulana Mohammad Ismail Gazhnawi, a member of the All India Kashmir Committee. The meeting requested the Maharaja to grant the Muslims their demands which were not many. A resolution was also passed in the meeting to the effect that if within ten days' time the Maharaja failed to accede to the demands, the State would be responsible for the repercussions.¹⁴⁸ Similar meetings were held outside the State also. On October 26, the Central Standing Committee of the All India Kashmiri Muslim Conference passed a resolution at its meeting held at the Barkat Ali Mohammad Hall, Lahore, urging upon the Maharaja to accede to these demands without any undue delay as these demands were a spontaneous expression of the feelings of the majority of the subjects. The resolution emphasised that non-acceptance of the demands "will be a source of constant disharmony, unrest and discontent".¹⁴⁹ The Council of the All India Muslim League fully approved the action taken by the Aga Khan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Mohammad Shafi and other delegates at the Round Table Conference in London with regard to the Muslim demands in Kashmir.¹⁵⁰

Political Disturbances and Arrest of Leaders in 1932

Just after the presentation of the demands, the political disturbances were revived and the leaders arrested in January, 1932. The factors which led to the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other leaders can be mentioned as follows:

By October 1931, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had become the hero of the Muslim masses. His popularity had lessened the influence and prestige of Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah who had previously commanded unchallenged

respect among his co-religionists. Realising that his influence was declining, the Mirwaiz began to drift away from the mainstream of the political struggle which he himself had enthusiastically led and supported till a few months before. The Moulvi's grouse against the Sheikh was that the latter had assumed the role of a dictator in the conduct of the freedom movement. He criticised the leadership of the Sheikh and advised his followers not to attend the public meetings addressed by him.¹⁵¹ The Mirwaiz was soon joined by another religious leader, namely, Ghulam Nabi Shah Mubarki. Both started a campaign of vilification, on grounds of personal rivalry, against the Ahmadiyas who were staunch supporters of the Sheikh. The differences between the two leaders became so sharp that it looked impossible for the two to come to a compromise. The Muslims became divided into two groups, one owing its allegiance to the Mirwaiz and the other to the Sheikh. Both became bitterly pitched against each other. Both the parties fought among themselves. The factional quarrels which ensued made life impossible.

The emergence of factional politics in Kashmir was also due to the role played by the non-Muslims, especially the Kashmiri Pandits. The non-Muslims had not yet changed their outlook on the political movement which had become unimaginably popular among the Muslim masses. Despite the advice tendered to them by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah from time to time, to adopt an attitude of neutrality, the Kashmiri Pandits became the mentors of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah in his anti-Abdullah and anti-Ahmadiya line of action. Internecine meetings became common between them and the Moulvi. The Pandits were ultimately successful in having contributed their share to widen the gulf between the two parties.

The Kashmir agitation started by the Majlis-i-Ahrar of the Punjab towards the end of 1931 had assumed great dimensions in the beginning of 1932. With a view to bringing pressure on "the State Government to remove the disabilities of the Muslims and grant their demands",¹⁵² the Ahrars had despatched groups of volunteers to Kashmir to launch *Satyagraha* there. The Ahrars had, thus, created a serious problem for the State, especially the problem of law and order. In the

Kashmir province conditions remained almost normal. But even then the Government had promulgated Notification 19-L and imposed Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code. Both these measures were bitterly criticised by the Muslim leaders, thinking that there was no justification for enforcing these measures at a time when there prevailed peace everywhere in the province. The leaders contended that the Government's design was to harass the Muslims of the State. Having returned from Lahore on January 21, 1932, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah declared on January 23 at a public meeting held at the Jamia Masjid that twenty-seven thousand Ahrars were ready in Lahore to help the Kashmiri Muslims.¹⁵³ On the same day, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah also addressed a public meeting at Khanqah-i-Mualla. He informed the people that Mufti Zia-ud-Din Poonchi had been forced to sign his warrant of deportation from the State. He had been accused of sedition. In a public speech at Khanqah-i-Mualla, he had said, "If Maharaja Hari Singh does not listen to me I will tweak his ears".¹⁵⁴ These developments had seriously been noted by the Government. On January 23 a ban was imposed on Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, prohibiting him to move beyond limits of the city of Srinagar.¹⁵⁵ The Sheikh had learnt that he was going to be arrested. On January 25 he organised a public meeting at Khanqah-i-Mualla. Addressing thousands of people, the Sheikh announced the names of his successors to lead them in case he was arrested.¹⁵⁶ After this speech the Sheikh went to the house-boat used as an office (on the Jehlum near Pather Masjid) to attend to his work. No sooner did he enter the house-boat than the police and military surrounded him. The Sheikh broke his Ramadan fast and offered himself for the arrest. The house-boat was searched. Some documents, a little cash and a few articles of furniture were seized and kept in the police station at Maharajgunj.¹⁵⁷

The news of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's arrest roused the people once again. They organised public meetings, processions and hartals. Only the followers of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and of course the non-Muslims remained indifferent. The rigour of the movement this time was shifted to suburbs where the political unrest among the Muslims was at

its highest. A rebel council was established at Handwara.¹⁵⁸ The Council had its own President, Governor and a High Court Judge. But the rebel councillors were soon arrested. At Uri fire was opened on a crowd of Muslims as a result of which "three were killed and several wounded".¹⁵⁹ These Muslims, three thousand in number, were going to offer *Jumat-ul-Vida* prayer at the Jamia Masjid Uri. They carried flags. At a particular place they were ordered to disperse. Having refused to disperse, they were fired upon.¹⁶⁰

While the agitation was going on in Kashmir, an important change took place in the administration of the State. In February, 1932, Lt. Col. Elliot James Dowel Calvin, an eminent British military official, was appointed the Prime Minister of the State in place of Raja Hari Krishen Koul. Two months after his appointment, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from the prison on May 5, 1932.

After his release, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his political colleagues engaged themselves in the organizational work of the party. Until March, 1932 the formation of political associations was totally banned in the State. On March 12, 1932, the Maharaja, on the recommendation of the Galancy Commission's Report, announced the grant of the rights to freedom of press and platform to the people of the State. This announcement had two-fold importance in that it recognised the legitimacy of the demand for basic political and civil liberties which the people deserved, and it implied the first major victory reaped by his Muslim subjects as a result of their revolution. The ban on the formation of political associations having been lifted, the Muslim leaders began to consolidate the mass bases of the movement. In order to conduct the movement more methodically and with strict discipline, the Muslim leaders established an organisation and a platform in the name of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. The Conference also framed and adopted a constitution of its own.¹⁶¹ The first annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was held at Srinagar on 15th, 16th and 17th of October, 1932. Thus the Muslim Conference became the only political forum which drew an overwhelming support of the entire Muslim community in the State. Henceforth the freedom

movement was spearheaded on the basis of the Constitution of the Muslim Conference.

Political Developments from June 1932 to May 1933

Certain political developments occurred in the Kashmir politics after the release of political leaders in 1932. These developments ultimately led to the arrest of Muslim leaders for the fourth time within a period of less than two years. These political developments may be briefly summarised as under:

- (i) The recommendations of the Galancy Commission with regard to redressing the grievances of the people were published in summer 1932. But the bureaucracy showed a good deal of hesitation in implementing the recommendations. This attitude of the bureaucracy began to be criticised by the Muslim opinion and the press. The Muslim leaders warned the bureaucracy and cautioned them that in case "they do not act upto our expectations, we shall start an agitation".¹⁶² The demand for an immediate implementation of the Galancy Commission's recommendations constituted significant feature of the political activities during this period.
- (ii) The politics of factionalism among Muslim featured a marked development in the politics of Kashmir during these days. This factional politics had not only degenerated into personal fight between Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah on the one side and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Moulvi Hamadani on the other but also it had involved the followers of each side into a severe type of party feud. The politics of Muslims became "a battle field of politicians in which muck-raking and mud-slinging were the cheap weapons."¹⁶³ The factional politics was at its height in 1933. On April 17, 1933 one Khalil Wani who was brutally attacked a few days before in a scuffle by the followers of the Mirwaiz, passed away. This incident added fuel to the fire, resulting in pitched battles between the two factions.

Arson, loot and puerile behaviour of the leaders rendered the political atmosphere uncertain and hostile. Fear and intimidation reigned supreme in the minds of the people. Many attempts had been and were being made for bringing about a compromise between the leaders of the two groups. But all went in vain. On April 17, the City Magistrate asked the two Mirwaizes to furnish bonds of good behaviour under Section 107 of the Indian Penal Code. Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah refused to do so. He wrote a letter to the City Magistrate in which he mentioned that "he is ready for any kind of order, even if it means an imprisonment".¹⁶⁴ On April 24, 1933 the Additional Magistrate asked both the Mirwaizes either to furnish a security of Rs. 1000/- each or to undergo one year's imprisonment.¹⁶⁵ Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah did not deposit the security and he was arrested on April 27 at 5 a.m. at his house by a military guard of four hundred soldiers.¹⁶⁶ The arrest of the Mirwaiz was followed by protest demonstrations by his followers, both men and women, who shouted slogans "Fill the prisons, we are ready".¹⁶⁷ The situation turned worse by the continued scuffles between the followers of the Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Shortly after, however, the spirits of the followers of the Mirwaiz cooled down and they started to make efforts to get the Mirwaiz released. The Mirwaiz was released on May 3 after a security of one thousand rupees was deposited on his behalf, and 'he was brought home in a State car covered with white cloth'.¹⁶⁸ However, the release of the Mirwaiz did not ease the situation and the scuffles between the two factions continued unabated.

- (iii) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah held Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah responsible for this state of affairs. He also warned the Kashmiri Pandits who according to him were conspiring with the Mirwaiz against the Muslim Conference. In a speech at the Pather Masjid,

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah charged the Mirwaiz with hatching a conspiracy with the Kashmiri Pandits, the capitalists and the Government, against the Muslim cause. This caused a resentment amongst the Pandits. However, the Sheikh tried to smooth this resentment when on May 7, 1931 he exhorted the Pandits to adopt a neutral and non-partisan attitude towards the Muslim politics. He said, "The Pandits should neither come to me nor should they go to Yussuf Shah".¹⁶⁹

- (iv) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had in January, 1933 addressed an Id-gathering at the Id-gah on the episode of the Alwar State. A resolution had been passed to express solidarity with the Muslims of Alwar.¹⁷⁰ The Government had come to believe that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was a Bolshevik agent.¹⁷¹ In fact in the House of Commons questions had been raised whether the Bolshevik agents were exploiting the discontent among the Muslim masses.¹⁷²

The political unrest caused by the factional conflict among the Muslims, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's speeches, the widespread demand for the implementation of the recommendations of the Galancy Commission and the feeling of the Government that the Muslim Conference was prejudiced against Kashmiri Pandits along with the fear that the Sheikh was perhaps following Bolshevik policies, finally drove the Government to take a serious note of the entire situation. On May 31, 1933 Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah spoke at a meeting at Khanqah-i-Mualla and expressed the fear that the Prime Minister had been advised to arrest the latter in order to establish peace in the State. The Sheikh advised the people to continue the agitation even if he was arrested. Immediately after the meeting was over, he was taken into custody and sent to Udhampur Jail.

The arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his colleagues was followed by a policy of severest repression by the Government. The Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code prohibiting the gathering of more than four persons at a time, was imposed.

Despite this, the masses continued to organise public meetings and protest demonstrations, demanding the release of their leaders. On several occasions there occurred clashes between the people and the police. The women processionists were lathi-charged and arrests, flogging and imprisonments were repeated.

Efforts were made by the leaders not imprisoned for the release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other political prisoners. On June 3, 1933, a deputation consisting of Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, Mohammad Maqbool and a few others went to the concerned authorities to negotiate the release of the Sheikh and the other prisoners. They were told that maintenance of peace and stopping the agitation was an essential condition to the release of the prisoners.¹⁷³ On June 12, another deputation of eleven members saw the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Peel, in his office where the matter was again broached. Mr. Peel agreed to release the Sheikh on the condition that the members gave a statement in writing that the Government had been justified in arresting Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The majority of the members did not accept this condition. Sheikh Abdul Hamid, Vice-President of the Muslim Conference, told Mr. Peel that the matter would be placed before the Working Committee of the Conference Party and that the decision taken therein would be implemented. The matter was accordingly discussed in a meeting of the Working Committee where the majority of the members, especially one Abdul Gani of Delna, opposed the conditional release of the Sheikh as desired by Mr. Peel. On June 14, the Home Minister called the leaders of the Muslim Conference to his office in connection with the growing uncertainty in the State caused by the Young Men's agitation. The leaders were told to get the agitation started by the Young Men's Association immediately stopped otherwise the Government would take strong action against it.¹⁷⁴ It was in the same meeting that the Government expressed its desire to release the Sheikh on the following three conditions:¹⁷⁵

- (i) Organising of public meetings and processions should be stopped;
- (ii) Maintenance of peace in the State should be guaranteed at least for one year; and
- (iii) No demand for making an enquiry into the excesses of the Government should be made after the Sheikh was released.

The above conditions were more or less accepted by the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference. On June 15, Sheikh Abdul Hamid, the Vice-President of the Conference Party, made a public speech at Khanqah-i-Mualla. He prohibited the people from continuing with the political disturbances and advised them to remain peaceful if they desired an immediate release of their leader.¹⁷⁶ These lukewarm statements of the Conference leaders frustrated the hopes of the people who were impatient to see their arrested leader released. Under these circumstances a new development took place in the Kashmir politics—the formation of an association by the young Muslims of Kashmir.

Young Men's Muslim Association

The Young Men's Muslim Association was founded by Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi. This Association was a voluntary organisation of the young Muslims of the Kashmir province. Its emergence was formally announced to the people at a public meeting held at Khanqah-i-Mualla on June 12, 1933. It was an independent organization whose policies and programmes were framed by the Young Men themselves. Its main object was to bring pressure upon the Government to make it accept their demands, including the demand of an immediate release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other political prisoners. With these objectives before it, the Young Men's Association started a vigorous agitation in June, 1933 by holding public meetings at Khanqah-i-Mualla. These meetings were addressed by "dictators" who after delivering the speeches courted arrest. The general nature of the speeches delivered by the dictators related to the excesses committed by the Government in crush-

ing the agitators and their supporters; the indifference of the Government in implementing the Galancy Commission's recommendations; the demand for a responsible Government and the immediate release of the political prisoners. One of the significant features of the Young Men's agitation was the emphasis it laid on the inter-communal character of the movement. The agitation spread to the villages and towns of the whole province. Young Muslims from far-flung areas took part in the agitation in Srinagar. On June 23, three young men, namely, Sufi Mohammad Akbar, Pir Mohammad Yasin and Abdul Ghani from Sopore and Baramullah respectively delivered fiery speeches at Khanqah-i-Mualla.¹⁷⁷ At another meeting held at the same place on June 25 two resolutions were passed.¹⁷⁸ The first resolution regretted the attitude of the non-Muslims characterising the freedom movement as a communal movement; and the second warned the Government that the Young Men would start a civil disobedience movement in case the Government did not release Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah within two days.

The decision to start a civil disobedience movement was indirectly endorsed by the leaders of the Conference Party who had sensed that the Government was not willing to release the political prisoners. The Working Committee of the Muslim Conference took a decision in this respect, on July 7, 1933, that "since the Government wanted to lower the prestige and reputation of the Muslim Conference, it is, therefore, decided that an agitation should be started."¹⁷⁹ Sheikh Abdul Hamid was nominated as the first dictator. Before the programme of direct action was implemented, the Vice-President of the Conference Party received a telephonic message from the Prime Minister on July 9 asking Sheikh Abdul Hamid why he had decided to start the agitation. The Sheikh told the Prime Minister that the agitation had become inevitable in view of the false promises given by his Government. Thereupon the Prime Minister assured him that "the Government was going to announce the Sheikh's release at 4 p.m. the next day".¹⁸⁰ This message was immediately conveyed to the Young Men who were asked to stop the agitation till the Government announced the release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

As no announcement came forth, the Young Men decided to restart the agitation. On July 10, the day when Sadar-ud-Din Buchh (Mujahid) was the dictator on the stage, a controversial and conflicting situation took place at Khanqah-i-Mualla. Sheikh Abdul Hamid, Vice-President of the Muslim Conference, requested the people to remain in peace as the Government had assured him that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would be released in four weeks without any condition. The Young Men refused to agree and denounced him vehemently. The Sheikh tried to leave the stage several times, but each time he was forced to stay. Choudhry Khushi Mohammad, the ex-Revenue Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State, and Khwaja Salam Shah intervened for a compromise but to no purpose.¹⁸¹ However, on July 11, it was announced that the question of the release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other political prisoners would be discussed mutually by the Young Men's Association and the Muslim Conference, and that the decision taken for further action in this regard would be announced in due course of time.¹⁸² In the mean time, the Government took another repressive measure, this time by establishing punitive pickets at Maisuma for six months. The expenditure required to maintain the soldiers was of the order of one thousand twenty-eight hundred rupees. This amount was to be realised from all the inhabitants of Maisuma, except the Hindus, the Sikhs and the followers of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah.¹⁸³ The leaders of the Young Men's Association as well as the Conference made joint protests against this repressive measure and a joint agitation was started. The Maharaja meanwhile announced on August 4 the release of all those persons who had been imprisoned under the provisions of 19-L. The Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code and the curfew orders were also withdrawn. On August 7, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and all other political prisoners were released. The Sheikh was received with great honour by thousands of people at Srinagar. The Young Men's Association had made elaborate arrangements for his reception. The Sheikh was taken in a procession from Buchwara to the Pather Masjid. About 2 p.m. he received a letter from the Governor specifying the route of the procession, from Huzuribagh via Exhibition Road and

Nawab Bazar to the Pather Masjid.¹⁸⁴ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah became angry. Defying the order of the Governor, he said:¹⁸⁵

"...I do not know how many Hari Singhs are there in Kashmir to rule over us. One Hari Singh is the Government; the second Hari Singh is the Hindus and the third Hari Singh is Yussuf Shah and his party. I do not know whom I shall have to obey. Fifteen men can use the Hari Singh High Street together at a time but it is only Abdullah who cannot use the road."

The procession passed through the streets chosen by the Young Men. After a week, the Sheikh resumed work of the organization, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

On August 13, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah cautioned Colonel Colvin, the Prime Minister, that he would meet the same fate as his predecessor Raja Hari Krishen Koul, if he continued with the policy of repression. He appealed to the Kashmiri Pandits that they should refrain from hatching conspiracies against the Muslim movement. Speaking against the conspirators the Sheikh said:¹⁸⁶

"...whether Sunis or Shias, Muslims are one united whole. They believe in one God. They have one Qibla, one Kalima, one Quran and one Prophet. No attempt would succeed to disrupt this unity..."

After the political prisoners were released, there prevailed an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. The Muslim Conference Party set itself to the organizational tasks; the main task before it was the holding of its annual session at Mirpur in 1933. After having attended the annual session of his Conference Party, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah went to Sialkot.

Young Men's Agitation Restarted

The Young Men's Muslim Association restarted agitation in January, 1934. The following factors occasioned the agitation:

- (i) The Government dismissed an Assistant Superintendent of Police, Hakim Habib Ullah, from his service. The Young Men protested against the official's dismissal as a result of which he was reinstated but at the same time demoted to the Inspector's rank. It was alleged by certain quarters among the non-Muslims that he was an agent of the Muslim Conference, giving it secret information about the Government.¹⁸⁷
- (ii) The Young Men's Association was not satisfied with the Constitution of the Franchise Committee. They also disapproved of the Government's indifference with regard to the implementation of the recommendations made by the Galancy Commission.¹⁸⁸
- (iii) The factional strifes between the followers of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Mirwaiz Hamadani reappeared during those days. The strifes and scuffles between the two groups had disturbed the law and order situation leading to the imposition of restrictions on Mirwaiz Hamadani which prohibited him from offering Id-prayer outside the Aali Masjid at Idgah. This was considered by the Young Men as a blatant interference with their religious affairs.¹⁸⁹
- (iv) The Young Men demanded the basic human rights including the right to establish a responsible Government.¹⁹⁰

The Young Men gave an ultimatum to the Government that they would start a civil disobedience movement in case their demands were not granted within a specified time. On the expiry of the dead-line they constituted a War Council to direct their agitation. Accordingly a vigorous agitation was launched. On January 28, the Notification 19-L was put to operation and the city was handed over to the military. The leaders of the movement were exiled for one year. This aggravated the situation involving even the villages. Hundreds of people were arrested and punitive fines imposed on them. In many instances property was auctioned to realise the fines. On February 3, the troops had to open fire on the demonstrators at Pulwama as a result of which ten persons were killed. Again

on February 6, fire was opened on an uncontrolled mob at Bijbehara in which three persons were killed. These developments added fuel to the fire and the agitation became more intense.

Meanwhile, an unhealthy development took place in the relations between the leaders of the Conference and the Young Men. Many conscious workers as well as some leaders of the Conference Party expressed their doubts as to the propriety of a rival movement conducted by the Young Men. They thought that it was not proper to leave the movement to the mercy of the Young Men. The Working Committee of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference met on February 10, 1934 at Sialkot, outside the State territory, in order that the exiled leaders might be able to consider the political situation that had developed.¹⁹¹ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the President of the Conference, said at the meeting that the Young Men's agitation was harmful. The Sheikh admitted its expediency.¹⁹² Despite the opposition of its leader, the Working Committee by a majority favoured the continuance of the agitation. It suspended its own Constitution, and "appointed Ch. Ghulam Abbas as Dictator with the purpose of either getting the grievances of Muslims redressed by correspondence with the Government or by launching a movement of Civil Disobedience".¹⁹³

The opinion expressed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah with regard to Young Men's agitation created doubts in the minds of many leaders of the Association. Some of them severed connections with it. This caused some tardiness in the Young Men with the result that the movement lost its force for some time. But in due course of time, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, who was now incharge of the agitation, decided to launch a civil disobedience movement in Jammu. On March 5, 1934, he explained at a public meeting held at Talab Khatikan, Jammu, the necessity for launching the movement. He warned the Prime Minister and said that the freedom struggle would not stop until misrule in the State was done away with. Immediately after the meeting was over, he was taken into custody.

At Srinagar, the Young Men sent directives to their workers that the dictators should work at Srinagar. Thus the agitation

was made to shift from villages, where it had grown very intense, to the city of Srinagar. In April, 1934, Moulvi Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, founder of the Young Men's Association, returned disguised to Srinagar from Lahore where he had been in exile, and re-organised the Association which had lost its force by now. He found that there were many suspected elements in the ranks. Without antagonising them, he assigned them tasks which kept them away from the Central Office of the Association. The Maulana had hardly completed the work of reorganisation when he was himself arrested on April 13, 1934. By this time almost all prominent leaders and most of the workers of the Association and of the Conference were behind the bars. Ultimately the Young Men's agitation fizzled out when the Maharaja announced the date for elections to the Praja Sabha which fell on September 3, 1934. Despite the absence of almost all its leaders who were either in jails or in exile, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah decided to fight the elections to the new Legislative Assembly. The decision of the Sheikh rounds off the first phase of the period under the present study.

Trouble in Mirpur, Jammu

Tehsil Mirpur, Jammu, figures conspicuously in the politics of the Jammu and Kashmir State in 1932. Mirpur was a backward area in the Jammu province. The Muslims there formed a majority of the population in the villages of the tehsil. They were subjected to heavy land revenue and exorbitant taxes. The civil administration of the tehsil was inefficient and corrupt. The revenue officials were extremely corrupt and sluggish. In quite a number of cases they "had not lived in nor been to some villages for over two years and yet they drew their pay and waxed fat".¹⁹⁴ The State army was riddled with communalism and apathy. This had given rise to a considerable amount of discontent in the villages. Parties of soldiers went about in the villages "demanding food which they take and often do not pay for it".¹⁹⁵

The whole trouble in Mirpur was, therefore, due to the rotten administration and economic backwardness of the

people. The nature of the trouble was agrarian in character. The disabilities from which the people suffered were described as under:¹⁹⁶

First, the grazing fee was very high.

Secondly, rent assessment was much higher than in the Punjab.

Thirdly, too little money subscribed from the tehsil was used for developmental purposes of the tehsil. Ninety-four per cent of the revenue went into the Maharaja's pocket.

Finally, ninety-four per cent of the administration was manned by the non-Muslims. The Muslim share in the administration was extremely scant.

The echo of the political agitation which was started in July, 1931 was heard by the poor peasants of Mirpur too and they seized the opportunity and rose against the oppressive money-lenders as well as the corrupt administrators. In December, 1931 Sardar Gauhar Rehman, a Jammu leader, issued a manifesto asking the peasants in Mirpur "to desist from paying land revenue to the Government".¹⁹⁷ This led a large number of peasants to launch a civil disobedience movement against the oppression of money-lenders, and the corrupt administration which was being conducted on communal lines.¹⁹⁸ The movement which was purely agrarian in origin, assumed, however, communal form which created a very tense atmosphere in the entire tehsil, and the adjacent areas. The main purpose for which the civil disobedience movement was launched could not be achieved by the peasantry. The fire of communalism spread to different areas which soon involved within its sweep such areas as Sukh Chainpur, Seri Kotli, Bhimber, Rajouri, Kathua and Reasi. Many Hindus and Sikhs suffered loss of life and property. Religious fanaticism worsened the relations between the Muslims and the non-Muslims as a result of which hundreds of the Hindus and the Sikhs left their villages, taking refuge in the Punjab and in other places. The situation became so intense that the Maharaja was compelled to seek aid of the British military to save the situation.

The Government of India sent the military aid on the condition that the civil and military authorities of the State would function under the control and according to the directions of

the British military officers and that the Maharaja carried out the reforms which might be considered necessary by the Government of India to prevent recurrence of the trouble in Mirpur¹⁹⁹.

Problem of Exodus

The problem of exodus cropped up immediately after the British troops took over the charge of the administration of the tehsil. The first thing which the British officials did was to conduct a general search of the persons who had committed murders and stolen property. Many were arrested. It was at this point that the exodus began. In order to escape the consequences of searches and enquiries, thousands of Muslims—men, women and children—fled Mirpur and its neighbouring areas to Jhelum where they lived as refugees, enjoying free kitchen.²⁰⁰

The problem of exodus created an embarrassing situation for the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab. The presence of thousands of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in Jhelum and other parts of the Punjab posed a danger to the peace and security of the British India, especially the Punjab. The Ahrars tried to exploit the presence of the Muslim refugees hoping to revive agitation in Kashmir so that they could regain their strength and influence. With this view, the Ahrars announced the celebration of the "Mirpur Day" in support of the civil disobedience movement launched by the Muslims of Mirpur against the money-lenders and the administration. Many parts in the Punjab and Delhi observed the Mirpur Day. Public meetings were held and resolutions passed in sympathy with the sufferers.

In Saharanpur a big public meeting was held on January 22, 1932 under the presidentship of Maulana Mohmud Hassan. Maulana Moulvi Rashid Hassan of Deoband and Shaif Alam were among the speakers who exposed the oppressive policies of the Kashmir Government and the British against the Muslim subjects in the State. The following two resolutions moved by Khaliq Sidiqi, editor of the "Sheer-i-Punjab" and seconded by

Maulana Rashid Hassan were passed at the end of the meeting.²⁰¹

- (1) The first resolution expressed a deeply-felt grief over the justification given by the Dogra Government for its policy of oppression being exercised on its Muslim subjects with a view to crushing their struggle for freedom for the achievement of the political rights and self-respect. The resolution also warned the State that in case the policy of oppression was not stopped, the Muslim upsurge (in Kashmir and India) would go on unabated.
- (2) The second resolution, expressing sympathy with the Muslim subjects of Mirpur in their trouble, congratulated them for an unparalleled fortitude exhibited by them in their struggle and also assured them that the Muslims of Saharanpur were ever ready to make further sacrifices for them at every hour of their need.

Again, the following resolution was passed at a public meeting held at Delhi on January 23, 1932 under the presidency of the President of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, Allama Mufti Kifayat Ullah:²⁰²

The resolution, expressing a deep anger felt by the Muslims of Delhi, looked down upon the barbaric and oppressive deeds being exercised by the State and its Dogra army for a long time on the Muslim subjects of Kashmir whose one of the soul-dissolving scenes were exhibited in Mirpur where fire was opened on an unarmed mob of the Muslims. The resolution also made an appeal to the Muslims of India asking them to continue their struggle with full vigour for the liberation of the Kashmir Muslims.

Similarly, the Hindus were trying to reinforce their communal politics by exploiting the presence of the non-Muslim refugees in the plains of the Punjab. This was likely to affect the normal relations of the two communities outside the State. To save British India in general and the Punjab in particular

from the virus of communalism, and to facilitate an immediate return of all refugees to their homes, the British officers in Mirpur took strict measures to ease the situation. The Muslim refugees placed before the authorities certain conditions for returning to their homes. The conditions were:²⁰³

- (i) The Sikhs and the Dogras who had molested a number of women during the trouble in Mirpur be punished;
- (ii) Complaints against money-lenders be looked into; and
- (iii) No case against the Muslims should be entertained; no action should be taken against those who had left their homes; an independent Magistrate from outside the State should be appointed to try the cases; the British Government should take over the area indefinitely.

These conditions were, however, not heeded by Salisbury, the British officer incharge of the district. He tackled the situation strictly, arresting the ring leaders and punishing the elements active during the troubled days. The rank and file were employed, under orders, to help rebuild houses of Hindu and Sikh refugees. This was the only punitive fine levied with the aim of securing the earliest possible return of the refugees.²⁰⁴ By April 7, 1932 all Muslim refugees had returned to their homes. Any subsequent attempt to rouse the people against the Government was strictly put down. Thus Mirpur was restored to normal conditions. However, in due course of time Mirpur joined the mainstream of the freedom struggle in the State.

Politics of Non-Muslims from 1931 to 1934

The politics of the non-Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir began as a reaction to the mass movement which the Muslims launched against the economic injustice and political servility of the Dogra rule. From the very beginning the attitude of the non-Muslims towards this movement had been one of hostility and antagonism. They characterised the Muslim movement as communal. They had biased notions about the Muslim movement which, according to them, stemmed from the pro-Muslim

policies of the ruler and his Government. The Muslim rising against the Maharaja, contended the non-Muslims, was due to the following reasons :

First, the pro-Muslim policies of Maharaja Hari Singh had emboldened the Muslim subjects to rise in revolt against the ruler in order to get more and more concessions from him;

Secondly, even C.E. Wakefield, Political and Foreign Minister of His Highness, was instrumental in carrying out pro-Muslim policies at the cost of Kashmiri Pandits; and

Thirdly, some simple economic measures such as Land Alienation Act and Relief of Agriculturists (Act) which the Maharaja had introduced in the State to free the exploited peasantry from the exploiters were misunderstood by the Muslims. These concessions had given the Muslims a licence to harass and destroy the Hindus with impunity.

With these bizarre notions, the non-Muslims had failed to view the Muslim mass movement in its proper perspective. Instead of appreciating the grievances of the Muslims before and after 1931 agitation, they dubbed them communalists, rowdies and looters. In doing this, the non-Muslims "played the historic role of anti-revolution to a finish",²⁰⁵ but with little success. The non-Muslims also failed to realise that their interests were safe only with the masses. Ignoring that the mass movement had struck deep roots in the soil of the State, they completely alienated themselves from it, and made efforts to protect their community's interests by identifying themselves with the Government and its machinery, which is why from the very beginning of the revolution they depended largely on Government favour. In order to achieve their objectives, they set themselves at cross purposes with the Muslims trying phrenetically to lessen the political significance of the Muslim movement. Their reactionary and anti-revolutionary role became evident when they requested the Maharaja to amend or repeal the laws regarding the Land Alienation and the Agriculturists Relief. They made the malicious propaganda that these laws had emboldened the Muslims against their ruler. Their request was, however, rejected by the Maharaja.²⁰⁶ On occasions they adopted insidious political methods to bring

pressure upon the Muslims to give up their agitation but were not successful. Thus, when they boycotted Muslim shopkeepers, they were unmindful that a similar boycott by the Muslims would damage them more for their trade depended largely on the purchasing capacity of the Muslim customers who were in a majority. And when they actually put the boycott to practice, it was soon opposed by the Hindu shopkeepers.

From the very commencement of the freedom movement in Kashmir, the Hindu Maha Sabha set its forces of reaction against it. The worst part of the reaction was the role the Maha Sabha played in provoking the Hindu mind of India against the Muslim subjects of Kashmir whom the Hindu Maha Sabha dubbed as sheer communalists bent upon destroying the Hindu State of the Maharaja of Kashmir. It was this fear which led the leader of the Sabha to save the Hindu cause only by undoing the freedom movement in Kashmir. Even the Maharaja himself would go to any extent in obtaining the support of Hindu Maha Sabha against his Muslim subjects. In a letter addressed to Maharaja Saheb, Dr. Moonji wrote :²⁰⁷

“...The Hindu Mahasabha is lonely and forlorn in the midst of big Hindu leaders, wealthy merchants and Rajas and Maharajas. The Kashmere affair I had hoped would open the eyes of the Hindus but I am disappointed. I am fighting single-handed and I will keep on the fight till the end for the Hindu cause.

“...Your message which you were to send with your Pandit Sharmaji to my Hotel...may I now again request your Highness to extend to me your promised help and send the amount by cable to my address which is care of Thomas Cook and Sons London or care of India Office as I have told your Highness I shall require not less than Rs. twenty-five thousand for propaganda work in England.”

Not only this, the Hindu Maha Sabha organised public meetings and passed resolutions in order to denounce the Kashmir Muslims as conspirators against Hindu Raj as well as the Hindu subjects of the State. For example, at its Akola

Session held on August 15, 1931, the Maha Sabha passed the following resolution : ²⁰⁸

The Hindu Maha Sabha looks upon with fear at the fiery propaganda carried on against the Maharaja of Kashmir and at the occurrences of riots, murders, loot and incendiarism. The Sabha deems that there is a secret conspiracy of influential men working behind the agitation. The Maha Sabha warns the Government of India that in case the outside interference in the internal affairs of the State is not stopped, a misunderstanding will be created. The Maha Sabha recommends to the Working Committee that a Committee of Inquiry, to investigate into the matters regarding Kashmir, be appointed and a report submitted.

Also, the Lahore Hindu Sabha, Punjab, in its meeting held on August 19, 1931, passed the following resolutions :²⁰⁹

- (1) The Hindu Maha Sabha, Lahore condemns the riots in Kashmir and holds the view that these riots are the result of a deep conspiracy of Muslim reactionaries. The Sabha also is of the opinion that some Anglo-Indian newspapers, directly and indirectly, have encouraged these riots, but feels satisfied on the fact that peace is being restored in Kashmir. The Sabha urges upon the Government of India that necessary action be taken to suppress this contemplated agitation.
- (2) The Sabha appeals to the entire Hindu community and all newspapers to consume their full influence for preventing the agitation in Kashmir and recommends to the Hindu Maha Sabha to expose, oppose and repel the intentions of the Muslim reactionaries against the Kashmir state.
- (3) The Lahore Hindu Sabha strongly looks down upon the tyrannies perpetrated on the innocent Hindus of the Kashmir State.

Non-Muslims and the Temporary Truce

The attitude of the non-Muslims towards the temporary truce

was antagonistic, their main objection being that the Government had not consulted them earlier. It was on this excuse that they started an agitation. In the beginning it was not forceful and threatening. But it became so with the Pandit students of Sri Pratap College joining in it. As these students went on strike the Principal of the College took disciplinary measures against them. The Government also acted very strongly banning public meetings and processions of political character. A few Pandits were arrested. The agitation, however, came to an end when a few young Pandit leaders intervened between the Principal and the students. The students apologised to the Principal, giving an undertaking that in future they would not take part in any agitation. The cases against the arrested Pandits were also withdrawn.

Opposition to Muslim Demands

Opposition to the demands which the Muslims presented to the Maharaja on October 19, 1931 was another glaring example of the anti-Muslim attitude and political short-sightedness of the native non-Muslims of the State. To start with, the Pandits prided themselves on being the first to have fought for the democratic rights of the people of Kashmir. They said that it was they who had first raised the cry of Kashmir for Kashmiris and had demanded a legislature, a free press and a free platform.²¹⁰ But when the same demands were presented by the Muslims the Pandits opposed them saying that they were made "avowedly on communal grounds and for communal ends".²¹¹ They went to the extent of preferring the rule of autocracy to the blessings of democratic institutions. They said :²¹²

"We should rather do without a free press and a platform and the right of representation than make our country a hotbed of communal warfare."

This was certainly a proof of their political reactionarism which became ultimately responsible for their own set-back.

By identifying themselves with the Government to the exclusion of the masses, the non-Muslims played an anti-Muslim role

by rendering every possible service to the repressive machinery of the State in the suppression of the mass movement. What was uppermost in their minds was to see the forces of revolution destroyed. The Muslim subjects of the State, according to the Hindu viewpoint, had attained a "position of victors under a Hindu Raj", and the urgent need of the time was to stop them from resorting to agitation. That is why the Pandits ever opposed the release of Muslim political leaders whenever the question was raised with the Government. The demand of a complete indemnity for the military, the police and the civil officers, and the establishment of punitive pickets at the expense of Muslim population in areas where the disturbances had occurred, was constantly pressed by the Pandits to keep the Muslim masses under suppression. Even the Government of India was requested to start proceedings against the Muslim press in India that openly abused the Kashmiri ruler and his Government.²¹³

Need for Galancy Commission and Kashmiri Hindus

The need for appointing the Galancy Commission was felt by the Government of India in the light of the then prevailing conditions in the State and the Punjab. The political situation created by the Ahrar Party on the Jammu borders had been causing great excitement among the Hindus in northern India. A clash between Hindus and Muslims was apprehended at any moment. The Government of India feared that mass arrests of the Ahrar Party volunteers would cause great impetus to the agitation against Kashmir Durbar and in that case it would be "increasingly difficult to deal with the agitation inside the State".²¹⁴ The Government of India was, at the same time, anxious to prevent the agitation from becoming more fierce among the Kashmiri Muslims.²¹⁵ A good deal of pressure was also brought upon the Government of India by the Muslims of the British India to make it intervene in the Kashmir affairs to remove the grievances of the Muslims there. These led the Government of India to decide that the appointment of an impartial British officer to "deal with such Muslim demands as cannot be conceded without further enquiries or which involve

other communities as well"²¹⁶ was urgently called for. Accordingly the Government of India suggested to the Maharaja to accept the services of a British officer so that the Muslim agitation in the British India against the State was discredited. Again, an enquiry at that stage "would probably result in abandonment of those demands which are clearly unreasonable".²¹⁷ At first this suggestion was not accepted by the Maharaja on the ground that "the appointment of an officer by the Government of India (whether at my request or more so on your own), whatever his nationality, will undermine my rule and render it impossible".²¹⁸ The Maharaja's resistance could not, however, stand the force of the British pressure in view of the tensions which continued to increase in the Punjab and in the State itself due to threatening incursions of the Ahrar volunteers into the territory of the State. The Maharaja accepted the appointment of the Commission of Enquiry. On November 12, 1931 Mr. J.B. Galancy was appointed to preside over the Commission of Enquiry for formulating the proposal to meet the grievances of the Muslim subjects and other communities as well. The Commission was entrusted with the task of enquiring into and report on various complaints regarding religious and general matters also.

Hindu Boycott of the Galancy Commission

The Galancy Commission was boycotted by the Hindus. There were no good reasons justifying the decision for the boycott. However, two following objections on religious grounds were raised against the competence of the Commission :²¹⁹

- (i) That no question regarding cow-slaughter should be raised before the Commission.
- (ii) That no amendment should be made to the Hindu Law of Inheritance because the Law had an important place in the Dharm Shastras according to which nobody was authorised to interfere with it.

The Hindu Maha Sabha leader, Dr. Moonji, in a letter addressed to J.B. Galancy drew the latter's attention to the

personal rights of the Hindus, suggesting to him that these rights might not be affected in any way because they concerned the entire Hindu society of India and not only the local Hindus of the Kashmir state.²²⁰

On January 12, 1932 a formal boycott of the Galancy Commission was declared. The nominated member, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, was asked to resign from the Commission. But Pt. Bazaz refused to resign. Instead, he continued to participate in the deliberations of the Commission against the wishes of his community for which he incurred great displeasure and opposition. On January 23, the Hindus of Jammu responded to the Galancy Commission's first session, held at Ajaibgarh, with a complete *hartal*. They protested against the Commission's decision to include in its agenda the question of the Hindu Law of Inheritance in case of conversion. They made their representative, Lok Nath Sharma, resign the membership of the Commission.

In March, 1932 the Galancy Commission's report was published. The Kashmiri Pandits got perturbed over the findings of the report. They started a vigorous agitation as a mark of protest against the report. The Commission had recommended among other things that :²²¹

- (i) The qualification for Muslims in matter of service should not be pitched unnecessarily high;
- (ii) All vacancies should be effectively advertised and a similar action should be taken with regard to all scholarships intended to provide equipment in Government services; and
- (iii) Effective measures should be taken to provide a system of appointment and a machinery for supervising that system in such a way as to prevent the due interests of any community from being neglected.

These recommendations came under a scathing criticism by the Kashmiri Pandits. They urged the Maharaja to reconsider the report and at the same time they made the following demands:²²²

- (i) Efficiency be retained as the main standard for employ-

ment to Government services.

- (ii) Special privileges and scholarships be provided to Hindus for education and training in various trades and industries.
- (iii) Hindus be granted land for cultivation and be regarded as agriculturists.
- (iv) The *Dharmarth* funds be expended on their betterment.
- (v) In order to mitigate the problem of unemployment among the Hindus, the State should take upon itself the establishment of industries.
- (vi) Hindi be introduced as a medium of instruction for the Hindu girls in Government schools.
- (vii) Hindus be given preference over other communities in regard to Government work contracts.
- (viii) Sale of mutton be prohibited on the occasion of Hindu festivals and other sacred days.
- (ix) The agriculturist Relief Act be amended.

The Roti (Bread) Agitation

The Roti agitation was a natural outcome of the disappointment caused among the Pandits by publication of the Galancy Commission Report. They regretted the report with regard to the lowering of educational qualifications for Government services in favour of Muslim subjects. They saw that they could no more get a large share in these services as they used to in the past. They were also shocked by the fact that "the Muslim majority had after all asserted itself even under Hindu rule".²²³ They became apprehensive that the Commission had deprived them of their means of livelihood. "Our bread is being snatched from us", they cried. Out of this fear they started the agitation popularly known as the Roti Agitation.

The Roti Agitation was formally started in May, 1932. It was organised by the educated young Pandits, both employed and unemployed. Public meetings and processions were organised at Sheetalnath, Katlishwari Temple and Raghunath Mandir. The main feature of the Roti Agitation was the employment of political techniques of Gandhiji such as picketing of the offices and the Satyagraha. The general content of the speeches deli-

vered at its meetings related to an extreme displeasure of the Hindu community against the Maharaja and the Galancy Commission.

On May 5, 1932, at 9 a.m. the first dictator, Pandit Kashyab Bandhu was arrested on the charge of having delivered an objectionable speech at Sheetalnath. On the same day two other Pandit workers were arrested for sticking posters. Damodhar Bhatt and Pandit Ved Lal Vakil were also arrested.²²⁴ The arrest of Kashyab Bandhu was immediately followed by a complete hartal by the Hindu shopkeepers. The agitation grew more intense. It was joined by the college students and school boys of the Pandit community. They attended the public meetings and took part in the processions which had become a routine programme with the Pandits.

On May 14, the Pandits started picketing of the Government offices. Speeches were delivered in front of the Secretariat and the Accountant General's office. In picketing techniques, the college and school students played a leading role. Many students were struck off the rolls. These measures only added fuel to the fire. Thus, on May 20, the young Pandits made a forcible entrance into the offices of the Electric Department, the Food Supply Department, the Accountant General's Department and the State High Court where they topsy-turveyed the files and papers and stopped the clerks from performing their functions.²²⁵ The picketers were arrested and awarded punishment of imprisonment and caning. By May 24, the Roti Agitation had lost much of its tempo. But it was revived soon by the Bal Sabha, an association of teenagers.

Bal Sabha Agitation

The Bal Sabha, an association of the young school boys of tender age, was organised with a view to furthering the agitation at a time when the Roti Agitation had become almost defunct. The Bal Sabha organised meetings and took out processions. For its activities it became a nuisance in the entire city of Srinagar. Its noisy demonstrations were nothing but rowdiness at its highest. These young boys moved from place to place in processions shouting slogans, invading the compounds and

buildings of Government offices and the State High Court and making the work there very difficult, if not impossible.²²⁶ As in the case of their elders, the Government took serious action against these young boys. The ring-leaders and most active workers were arrested and kept in police stations for some time where they were caned and then released.

The Roti Agitation was an attempt made by the Kashmiri Pandits, under an organised and well-thought-out plan, to thwart the labours of the Galancy Commission. Its main aim was to force the Maharaja to modify the recommendations according to the wishes of the Hindu community. It was an agitation the like of which was unknown in the history of the Pandit community. It was conducted in an organized manner under an elaborate programme which included the organization of public meetings, processions, speeches, publication of political literature such as pamphlets, posters and hand-bills and even verbal messages. This agitation lasted for about a month and during this period more than one hundred volunteers were arrested in Kashmir. In Jammu, the Hindus took out the funeral of the Galancy Report in a procession. In an encounter which followed between the police and the processionists three Hindus were killed and fifty injured in police firing.²²⁷ The agitation came to an end when all the persons imprisoned were released on the basis of an undertaking from them that they would not resort to unconstitutional methods to get their grievances redressed.

From the point of view of its utility and importance, the Roti Agitation was nothing more than a middle class mentality exhibited by the Pandits. The agitation was started mainly to arrest the implementation of the recommendations of the Galancy Commission which had recognized the claim of other communities to the Government services as well. In this sense, the Roti Agitation was nothing but a tactical move on the part of its leaders to pressurize the Government to, at least, retain the status-quo for their community in matters of the administrative jobs of the State. Logically speaking, the contention of the Kashmiri Pandits that "the whole philosophy of the remodelling of the administration can be summed up in the sentence "whoever is in the Kashmiri Pandit must be out"²²⁸ was not based on rational grounds. The Pandits had ignored

the fact that "the question of unemployment of the middle classes is as acute at present in British India as it is in Kashmir."²²⁹ In British India the problem of Government services among the minority communities had also figured in Indian politics. But the issue could not be decided without the consent of other communities. The demand that the Kashmiri Pandits should receive a guarantee of the security of services for thirty years on the analogy of the Anglo-Indian community was regarded by Tej Bahadur Sapru as unsound in principle and very difficult to work. He said:²³⁰

"...There is, however, one demand which strikes me as being new as I have no recollection that I read anything like it in the former papers. On the analogy of the demand of the Anglo-Indian community that they should receive guarantee for the services for the next thirty years, you have put forward a similar demand. Whatever the Government may do with regard to such a demand of the Anglo-Indian community, I may point out to you that it is a demand which does not carry with it the consent of other communities. Speaking for myself, I consider the demand of this character to be very unsound in principle and very difficult to work."

The Roti Agitation against Galancy Commission was also politically unsound and rationally incorrect. Its scope was so narrow and limited that, besides bread and butter or Dal and roti, it did not have any other substantial aim before it to be achieved for its own community. The movement was also purely communal in nature. The leaders of the bread movement had made appeals to communal organizations like the All India Hindu Maha Sabha for extending its support to the Kashmiri Pandits in their agitation against the Galancy Commission's Report.²³¹ But even communalism failed to justify the Pandit's cause with the result that the bread movement had to meet its end without gaining anything. The fact is that the movement had its origin not in the genuineness of the demand for bread but in "the unfortunate events engineered by some misguided officials, that led to an agitation on behalf of the Kashmiri Pandit

community against the promulgation of the recommendations of the Commission.²³³

Hindu View of the Jammu and Kashmir State

The Hindus looked at the Jammu and Kashmir State from the religious point of view. For them it was a Hindu State, ruled by a Hindu Prince. There was Hindu Raj in the State. The ruler of this State was a remnant of the great "Surya Vansha of Sri Ramchanderji, symbol of the ancient Kshatriya valour, pride of Hindu race and the defender of the Vedic Dharma."²³³ With this concept the Hindus thought it their duty to defend the State and the Hindu religion from the Muslim agitation which they characterised as a "mischievous and revolutionary agitation, designed, inspired and fomented by a handful of disloyal Muslims in complicity with outside Pan-Islamic propaganda agencies who abhor the idea of a Hindu kingdom in Northern India."²³⁴ Naturally the Kashmiri Pandit community took pride in identifying themselves with the Government and the ruling class on the basis of religious affinity between the two. Pandit Kashyab Bandhu wrote:²³⁵

"By virtue of their religious and of the common interests as also by reason of their deep and abiding sense of loyalty Kashmiri Pandits are identifiical with Government...Kashmiri Pandits are proud of this."

The Kashmiri Pandits, in fact, formed a wrong opinion about the freedom struggle started by the Muslims in Kashmir. They failed to recognize the revolutionary character of the movement. They knew that economic necessity drove the Muslims to rise spontaneously against the Government in 1931. But in their zeal to defend the Hindu State from the wrath of revolution which "aimed at the achievement of democratic rights without driving the ruler out",²³⁶ the Kashmiri Pandits were very eager to see the Muslim movement destroyed root and branch. They did not tire of criticising the emerging leadership of the Muslims. They called the Muslim leaders self-styled who wanted to establish a Muslim dictatorship in the State under which

"the Hindus could live in Kashmir only as Muslims or at their mercy".²²⁷ Even the communists were not spared by the Pandits to have strong hand in the agitation.²²⁸

It was due to this obsession in their minds of Muslim rule and of the establishment of a representative system of Government in the State that the non-Muslims abhorred the very idea of revolution. On the contrary, they fought for petty concessions (which included a demand for a larger share in the administration of the State) and the over-all interests of their own community. On October 24, 1931, a deputation of the Hindus waited upon His Highness and solicited him to appoint capable men to high posts, irrespective of communal considerations. The deputation complained against the top-heaviness in the administration, the indiscriminate expenditure, the inefficient audit and the retrenchment of high-paid offices. The motive behind these demands was to create an impression in the mind of His Highness that an efficient administration was possible only if men of ability and good scholarship belonging to their community were appointed to high positions. To prove their point of view, they laid stress on the historical role which their community had played in the history of the administration of the State in the past. They had always a low opinion about the Muslim efficiency and ability in matter of Government jobs. According to them, the Muslims were favoured with Government jobs not on the principle of efficiency but on the only consideration that they were Muslims. Throughout their political career the Pandits held the service interests dearer to their life than the freedom from the rule of injustice and oppression under which the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims were smarting.

Kashmir Movement and Pan-Islamism (Hindu point of View)

The Kashmir movement was dubbed Pan-Islamic movement by the non-Muslims in British India. The exponents of this thought were Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonji of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Sardar Sant Singh, a Sikh leader, also contributed to this view. According to these leaders, the movement in Kashmir was a part of the Pan-Islamic movement in India whose origin went back to the December, 1929 session of All-India Muslim

League at Allahabad when its President Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal "pronounced his theory of dividing India into Muslim India and Hindu India and taking the North-West part of India for Muslim Confederation".²³⁹

The theory that the Kashmir movement was a part of the Pan-Islamic Movement in India was expounded by Bhai Parmanand on the following grounds:²⁴⁰

First, a session of the All India Kashmiri Muslim Conference was held in December, 1930 under the presidentship of the Nawab of Dacca. The Nawab delivered a fiery speech declaring that it was a matter of shame for the Muslim majority in Kashmir to be ruled by a Hindu minority. The members of the Young Men's Muslim Association, Jammu, who had attended the Conference went away to Kashmir, greatly imbued with the Pan-Islamic views of the authors of the Conference, and started the agitation.

Secondly, the Muslim newspapers published in British India a series of articles raising the cry of Islam in danger, and thus excited the Muslim subjects to stand against the Dogra raj.

Thirdly, the Kashmir movement was not for Muslim rights and demands but was against the Hindus. The acts of loot, incendiarism, and murder committed by Muslims were sufficient proofs in this respect.

Fourthly, the announcement made from Simla that the Kashmir Day would be observed all over India was a part of the Pan-Islamic programme.

Finally, the Maharaja ignored, under some secret and unknown influence, the cause of his Hindu and Sikh subjects who had been supporting him throughout the agitation.

Armed with these arguments, the Hindu leaders in British India launched a vigorous campaign against the Kashmir mass movement. Many allegations were levelled against Muslims for their disloyalty to the Maharaja who, according to them, always treated his Muslim subjects with favour. The Maharaja, it was argued, was liberal to Muslims in matters of appointments and legislation such as the Land Alienation Act passed at the cost of Hindu subjects. But such arguments did not hold water. As a matter of fact, all high appointments in the State went to

the non-Muslims, or, in case of Muslims, to those persons who were imported into Kashmir from outside the State either on the recommendation of the Government of India or by the Maharaja himself. For example, Nawab Khusroa Jung, Minister-in-Waiting, was appointed by the Maharaja only to oblige him as a friend. Moreover, the Muslim Ministers whose number never exceeded two during the entire period of the Dogra rule used to be non-Kashmiris. They had no sympathy with the Kashmiri Muslims. They were concerned more with their personal ends than with the problems of the people. The Muslim subjects were never happy with them because these Ministers always toed the line of their masters. They had no effective say even in matters of administration and existed in name only.

Muslim Demands, A Pan-Islamic Document ?

The memorial of the demands presented to His Highness by his Muslim subjects on October 19, 1931, was equally branded a Pan-Islamic Document²⁴¹ whose main purpose was to get the laws of the State changed to suit the *Tabligh Movement*.²⁴² The leaders of this school of thought tried to disparage these demands, stating that they typified reactionarism and fanaticism of Muslim orthodoxy. For example, the demand relating to religious freedom was criticised as sheer fanaticism on the part of the Muslim subjects. The demand relating to services was termed a "spur to their Proselytising Movement"²⁴³ to force the Kashmiri Pandits to turn Muslims for securing the jobs they were after. Even the demand for democratisation of the political institutions was attacked from the communal point of view. Thus the demand asking for the establishment of a representative form of Government in the State, argued the Hindu leaders, was "made out on the lines of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's 14 points asking for a democratic constitution but demanding that seats should be reserved in the Ministry and the legislature for Muslims in proportion to their numbers."²⁴⁴

This kind of criticism against the demands for elementary human rights and establishment of democratic institutions had no substance in it. The argument of the Hindu leaders in

British India that the demands of Muslim subjects in Kashmir were an expression of a Pan-Islamic ideology whose ultimate aim was to establish a theocratic State there reflected their own fixation. The fact is that the Muslims of the Jammu and Kashmir State never made any political alliance with a view to establishing any political system which they could not even dream of. No doubt they had been receiving moral and material support from the Muslims in British India but this support was not conditional. They appealed even to the non-Muslims for such support. An impartial study of the Muslim political movement shows that the leaders never made a reference either in their speeches or writings to such phrases as "Pan-Islamic" or "Muslim rule". Their main concern was to fight an autocracy with its related institutions under which they had been facing untold sufferings. They wanted to bring about a political reform under the aegis of their ruler. The allegation of their disloyalty against their ruler was off the point and refuted by the Muslim leadership.²⁴⁶

Call for United Action

The call for a united action was voiced by anti-Pan-Islamists to preserve the integrity and independence of Hindu State of Kashmir against any attempt at its annihilation. The non-Muslims in British India, both Sikhs and Hindus, were led to believe that the Kashmir agitation was an avowed Pan-Islamic movement which was also supported by British imperialism. The argument advanced in favour of this contention was that the Government of India wanted either to Europeanise the administration in Kashmir or to Mohammadanise it.²⁴⁶ In order to save the State from such designs, the only alternative open to them, it appeared, was to fight the main enemy, the Pan-Islamism, to its finish. This was possible only by a united action. Accordingly, an appeal was made to all hitherto scattered and disintegrated Hindu communities for a joint fight to save the Hindu State of Kashmir. This call, it was agued, was necessitated by historical compulsion. It was to prevent the motherland from being divided into parts by Pan-Islamists who wanted "to establish a strong Pan-Islamic belt from the Nile

far beyond the banks of Sutlej and Jamuna".²⁴⁷ To fight Pan-Islamism was, therefore, a common cause for the Hindus and the Sikhs because "the peril of Pan-Islamism stares the Hindus in the face quite as much as the Sikhs".²⁴⁸ A similar note of appeal was issued by the Hindu Maha Sabha to the Hindus all over India asking them to wake up and resist the Pan-Islamic campaign against "one of the foremost Hindu States and the helpless Hindu minority within it".²⁴⁹ The Sabha also pointed out the strategic importance of Jammu and Kashmir State and appealed to the Government of India for its protection. According to the leaders of the Maha Sabha, a well-protected border State "at a position of utmost strategic importance intervening India and foreign powers"²⁵⁰, was the only guarantee for the internal peace of the country. Such propaganda was malicious. The movement in Kashmir was not even remotely connected with the so-called Pan-Islamism and its aim was not to establish a theocratic State in Kashmir. The fact is that the Hindu Maha Sabha had started already a war against the politics of separatism of the All India Muslim League in British India and the Muslim politics in the Punjab. The contention of the Sabha was that in case the politics of separatism was permitted to have its own way, the whole of India would fall "at the feet of Islam and Pathans".²⁵¹ It was due to this fear that the Hindu Maha Sabha bracketted the Kashmir freedom movement with the so-called politics of Pan-Islamism in British India. An impartial study would reveal that the freedom struggle in Kashmir was started by the Muslims mainly because they constituted an overwhelming majority. At no time did the movement profess the objective of the establishment of Islamic State in the North. In fact the Muslim leaders in India also reacted against the accusations made by the Maha Sabha leaders against the movement in Kashmir. The Muslim members of the Central Legislature in a meeting presided over by K.S.H.M. Villayat-Ullah, M.L.A., criticised the Maha Sabha for its virulent propaganda and declared that the accusation made against the Muslims in the State "is as absurd as the accusation against Mahatma Gandhi that he is advocating the Hindu Raj".²⁵² From its very inception the leaders of the movement in Kashmir had invited the non-Muslims to join the struggle against injustice

and oppression and had repeatedly made it clear that they wanted a responsible Government to be instituted under the aegis of the Maharaja.

Ahmadiyas and Kashmir Movement

The Ahmadiyas played not only an important role in the struggle for freedom in Kashmir but also contributed a considerable share to the growth and development of the Muslims' awakening in Kashmir. The religious leader of the Ahmadiya community in Kashmir, Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, one of the leaders of the freedom movement, was instrumental in arousing the people from the slumber of ignorance and helplessness. Through his religious preachings, he acquainted the Muslim masses with the conditions and causes responsible for their economic miseries, general backwardness and political servility.

Immediately after the Kashmir movement took its practical shape on July 13, the Ahmadiyas in the Punjab constituted the All India Kashmir Committee. The Committee was given full powers and authority with regard to Kashmir affairs. Its doors were thrown open to all those shades of public opinion among the Muslims of India who were ready to render every possible assistance to the cause of Muslims in Kashmir.

The Kashmiri Muslims' cause was pleaded admirably by the Kashmir Committee. Without the support of the Ahmadiyas the Kashmir movement in its initial stages would have become slack, to say the least. The Ahmadiyas rendered all manner of help, personal, material and moral, to the leaders of the movement. They published political literature on Kashmir for propagation, and gave top-most priority to the political events in Kashmir in the columns of their official organs, such as *The Alfazl* and *The Sunrise*. In this way they familiarised the national and international opinion with the Kashmir affairs. Their efforts were aimed at securing national and international support in favour of the Kashmir movement.

The All-India Kashmir Committee rendered valuable service to the Kashmir movement through its manifold activities. The Committee sent from time to time deputations to the Govern-

ment of India, pressing for an early solution of the Kashmir dispute. Similarly efforts were made through correspondence and negotiations with the Kashmir Durbar for the settlement of the problems between His Highness and his Muslim subjects. In order to help the political victims, the Committee made available the services of several lawyers to plead their cases free of charge. On national level, the Committee defended the Muslim cause against the attacks of the enemies of the Kashmir movement. It was the only forum which opposed the Hindu Maha Sabha, the defender of Hindu Raj in Kashmir, defying its allegations regarding the Kashmir movement.

In the use of political methods, the All India Kashmir Committee believed in non-violence and constitutionalism. The Committee always made appeals to the Kashmir Muslims that in their fight against the reign of injustice and oppression they should avoid resorting to violence against any other community.

The Ahmadiyas were pro-British. They believed in British intervention in the Kashmir affairs.²⁵³ They were also deadly against the appointment of Commissions of Inquiry by the Maharaja. Such Commissions, they argued, functioned with utmost partiality and under the official dictations. That was why the Committee opposed the findings of the Dalal and Middleton Commissions as "unsatisfactory, partial and unacceptable to the Muslims of Kashmir".²⁵⁴ The Committee also furnished guidelines to Kashmir leaders, especially during the initial stages of their struggle, for the conduct of the movement in particular directions.

Dissensions in the All-India Kashmir Committee and Its Reconstitution

Dissensions developed among the members of the Working Committee of the All-India Kashmir Committee after two years of its smooth working. The Committee came under scathing criticism from different quarters. General anger was expressed against the Ahmadiya members who were accused of having unnecessarily monopolised the Committee. The political events which took place among the Muslims in the

Jammu and Kashmir State and British India also contributed to the disintegration of the Kashmir Committee under the Ahmadiya control. The following factors were responsible for this change:

- (i) The Mirwaiz of Kashmir Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah had started a regular anti-Ahmadiya campaign in Kashmir which not only caused harm to the movement but also created an unbridgeable gulf between the Muslims. This development created an embarrassing situation both within and without the State. The Moulvi's declaration that he would not join his old colleagues unless and until the Ahmadiyas were turned out from the Muslim Conference had a shattering effect on the All-India Kashmir Committee under the control of the Ahmadiyas.
- (ii) The formation of the Committee in July 1931 was immediately followed by the coming up of the Ahrar Party in the Punjab. The Ahrars were dead set against the Ahmadiyas and hence the Kashmir Committee. Ideologically, the Ahrars were anti-imperialist. They believed in direct action and sent volunteers in sympathy with the Kashmiri Muslims. Soon they became popular among the masses. The Ahrar agitation was thus responsible for relegating the Kashmir Committee to the background. The struggle for achieving supremacy over Kashmir affairs marked an important feature between the Ahrars and Ahmadiyas later on. This struggle resulted in an open confrontation between the two organizations, in which the Ahmadiyas suffered greatly.

The complaints against the Ahmadiyas' dominance over the affairs of Kashmir Committee and the conflicts between the Ahmadiyas and the Muslim leadership in the State by 1933, were the factors that demanded the President of the Kashmir Committee to resign from his responsibility. New elections were held to the offices of the Kashmir Committee and Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal was elected its President. The Ahmadiya

members were disappointed for the change did not suit them. Instead of extending cooperation to the President, they showed an attitude of indifference and non-cooperation. They recognized exclusively their loyalty to their religious leader, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mohmud Ahmad. This attitude on their part made the functioning of the Committee for Dr. Iqbal very difficult, with the result that Dr. Iqbal resigned from the Presidentship of the Committee. He issued a statement, advising the Muslims of British India that if they were anxious "to guide their Kashmir Brethren they are free to reconstitute the Committee at a mass meeting".²⁵⁶ The reasons of Dr. Iqbal's resignation from the Committee were the differences between him and the Ahmadiya members over the following points:²⁵⁶

- (1) Should membership depend only upon a payment of subscription or should it also require the approval of the present (newly constituted) Kashmir Committee ?
- (2) Should there be one Vice-President or several Vice-Presidents ?
- (3) Should there be one Secretary and one Assistant Secretary or only two Secretaries, with divided spheres of work ?

Dr. Iqbal was in favour of the idea that payment of subscription alone should be sufficient to qualify one for membership. He also favoured appointment of several Vice-Presidents with one Secretary and one Assistant Secretary. His purpose was to reconstitute the Committee on more democratic lines, a committee in which the sphere of work was shared by everybody. He, therefore, wanted to break the monopoly of Ahmadiyas over the Committee. But all his proposals fell through at a Working Committee meeting. It was argued that:²⁵⁷

- (i) The membership of a person should depend on the approval of the Kashmir Committee, so that undesirable elements were kept away from entering the Committee and hamper its work.

- (ii) The appointment of several Vice-Presidents would limit the Working Committee entirely to the office-bearers.

But the above proposals were not acceptable to Dr. Iqbal. These proposals were another form of the Ahmadiya domination which Dr. Iqbal was out to undo. He declared that only a truly representative body with the people's consent could exist as the All India Kashmir Committee. This challenge startled the Ahmadiya community. They also showed their willingness to resign from the Kashmir Committee if it was thought that their "continuance on the Committee will be detrimental to the Kashmir movement".²⁵⁸ Nothing came out of it, though a compromise was struck between the members by the intervention of Miiza Bashir-ud-Din Mohamud Ahmad, the Head of the Ahmadiya community.²⁵⁹ The Muslims of British India had already formed their opinion in favour of the reconstitution of the Kashmir Committee under Dr. Iqbal's presidentship. Accordingly, on July 2, 1933 a public meeting was held at Lahore, under the presidency of Mian Abdul Aziz, the President of the Lahore Municipality, to consider the question of the reconstitution of the Kashmir Committee in the light of Dr. Iqbal's suggestions. The meeting passed a resolution expressing its complete confidence in Sir Mohammad Iqbal, endorsing his suggestion for the reconstitution of the All-India Kashmir Committee to enable it "to be in a position to carry on effectively the work necessary to secure for the Moslems of Kashmir their legitimate and proper rights and their responsible association with the administration and Government of the country..."²⁶⁰ The meeting also authorised Dr. Iqbal to nominate members of the reconstituted Committee. By a resolution passed at the meeting the Muslims of Kashmir were assured that "the Moslems of India considered it their duty to render them all possible assistance".²⁶¹ Another resolution appealed to the Kashmiri Muslims to sink all their differences and sectional feuds, and present a united front to all their adversaries for the common cause. By July 18, the elections of the office-bearers of the reconstituted Kashmir Committee were completed.

Efforts were made by the Ahmadiyahs that the meetings of

the Kashmir Committee be held under the old Kashmir Committee. But they were disappointed because it was argued that such a course was not in the national interests of the Muslims.²⁶² Any attempt to set up a rival Kashmir Committee was thought to be harmful to the Muslim cause as a whole. The Ahmadiyas, however, continued to convene separate meetings of the old Kashmir Committee under the presidentship of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mohmud. This process continued for two years. By 1935 both the Kashmir Committees, the old and the new, under Dr. Iqbal officially recognized by the Kashmir Muslims, had almost become defunct because the people had started to adopt an independent line of action on democratic lines.

Ahrars and the Kashmir Movement

The Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam-i-Hind was a political organization founded on the ruins of the Khilafat movement in the Punjab at the end of the twenties of the present century. A group of Muslim leaders who had participated in the Khilafat Movement since 1920 and who "very often cooperated with the Congress in its normal activities"²⁶³ after the collapse of the Khilafat movement formed a Consultation Body for purpose of carving out a suitable line of action for itself. At the suggestion of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a meeting of the Consultation Committee was held on the Congress stage during its annual session on 29th December, 1929 at Lahore. The Consultation Committee was attended by Maulana Habib-Ur-Rehman Ludiyanavi, Maulana Syed Daood Gazhnavi, Maulana Syed Atta-Ullah Shah Bukhari, Maulana Mazhar Ali and Khwaja Abdul Rehman Gazi. The meeting was presided over by Choudhry Afzal Haq. The name of the organization "Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam-i-Hind" was suggested by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and it was in this meeting that the Ahrar organization was established. Maulana Syed Atta-Ullah Shah Bukhari was elected its first President.²⁶⁴

The Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Hind was a combination of lower middle class Muslims. It was limited to the Punjab and was aggressive in outlook. It had its own Constitution. It participated in elections and returned some of its representatives

to the Assembly. The Majlis had established its various branches, in towns and districts of the Punjab. The Ahrar Party believed in nationalism, secular democracy and representative institutions.

The members of the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam-i-Hind,²⁶⁵ immediately after their release from prison in July, 1931, were attracted by the Kashmir movement. The main reason for this attraction was the receipt of a circular letter written by Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mohmud Ahmad, President, the All India Kashmir Committee. Addressed to all Muslims of British India, the letter asked them to become members of the Kashmir Committee which had then been constituted in sympathy with the Kashmir Muslims. The leaders of the Majlis-i-Ahrar refused the invitation and, on the contrary, they decided to consider the possibility of supporting the movement independently. In this connection, the leaders of the party met at Bombay to consider whether they should or should not take the Kashmir issue in their own hands. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the famous Congressite, was also present in the meeting. When asked what his opinion was, he said:²⁶⁶

"The Ahrars must handle the Kashmir issue for the sake of Hindu-Muslim cooperation. They should also place before the Maharaja democratic demands for the sake of the progress of the State. I believe that the Maharaja of Kashmir, after a little struggle is made, will grant the democratic demands."

The suggestion was readily taken. There were two apprehensions in their minds which prompted them, aside from the Maulana's suggestion, to support the Kashmir Muslims along a separate line. The first was the dominance of the Ahmadiyas over the Kashmir politics. The Ahrars believed that the ultimate aim of the Ahmadiyas was to convert the Muslims of Kashmir to the Ahmadiya sect. Their concern was to save the Muslims from such conversion. The second fear was that the Kashmir movement would suffer in case the Ahmadiyas, with their communal politics, were permitted unchecked control

over the Kashmir movement. They wished that communal harmony was maintained at all costs while the struggle for freedom was carried on.

In order to achieve these two objects the Majlis-i-Ahrar made a formal declaration of its support to the Muslims of Kashmir. On the 15th of August, the Executive Committee of the Majlis met at Lahore under the presidentship of Maulana Ahmad Ali and, in the light of the resolution passed at a public meeting held at Lahore on August 14, 1931 under the presidentship of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal²⁶⁷ decided to take the agitation into its own hands. The following decision was also taken at the same meeting:²⁶⁸

This meeting, in order to start the Direct Action, appoints Mazhar Ali Azhar, the Dictator and the President of the Inquiry Committee and authorises him to go to Srinagar for purpose of making an inquiry into the grievances of the Muslim subjects as well as the causes of the present agitation there. This committee also authorises him to find out ways and means essential for normalising the conditions of the Muslims of Kashmir and for bringing about reconciliation between the various inhabitants of the State being necessary for peace, progress and good Government in the State.

Mazhar Ali Azhar sent invitation letters to all political parties in India, asking them to suggest to the Majlis any possible solution for the Kashmir problem. At the same time, he wrote to the Maharaja to say that the Ahrar Party was not against him. The Ahrars wanted to see cordial relations established between him and his subjects. The letter also said that "the aim of the Ahrars is to help the Kashmir people in their struggle for free rights so that they might progress both educationally and economically".²⁶⁹

On August 15, 1931 a statement containing demands in connection with the Kashmir movement was issued by the Majlis-i-Ahrar, Lahore, under the signatures of Habir-Ur-Rehman, Afzal Haq, Mazhar Ali and Daud Gazhanavi. The demands were:²⁷⁰

- (i) "The Majlis-i-Ahrar does not consider Kashmir agitation as a Hindu-Muslim problem. The condition of the peasants and the workers in Kashmir is far more disastrous and horrible than that of any peasant and worker in India. All men of opinion, whichever community or religion they belong to, must have their heart-felt sympathies with these people in the State, not for the sole reason that they are Muslims. At this critical hour nobody should shirk to help them. In case, for any reason, the mischievous sections among Hindus and Sikhs are bent on seeing the Muslims oppressed or branding the present agitation communal, the Majlis will not support, on false pretences of nationalism, the savagery and inhumanness of these soul-less sections. The Majlis invites, therefore, all non-Muslim communities for a common action and undertakes to receive their support with open arms for emancipation of the oppressed people of the State.
- (ii) "The Majlis-i-Ahrar has no intentions to dethrone the Maharaja and establish the so-called Muslim rule in territories under the sovereignty of the Government of Kashmir. The Majlis feels that all agitations which are aimed to discredit Majlis-i-Ahrar or any other Muslim association are based on conscious mischief.
- (iii) "The Majlis-i-Ahrar is not ready to invite British intervention in the affairs of the State and feels that, in this regard, all misunderstandings should be cleared. Instead, the Majlis feels that the British Government is responsible for involving the people of Kashmir in the present misfortune.
- (iv) "The Majlis-i-Ahrar feels that the Government of Kashmir will use peaceful and legitimate means to overcome the present trouble and create a human atmosphere in the State."

The Ahrars wanted, primarily, to try for a peaceful solution for the Kashmir trouble, but finding that this led them nowhere, they had to resort to active but non-violent agitation. In fact, the Majlis-i-Ahrar decided to send volunteers (*Jatho*)

to Kashmir only after the Maharaja of Kashmir had rejected their request of favouring their deputation to enter the State territories for purpose of holding an independent investigation into the alleged grievances of Kashmir Muslims. The order of the Kashmir Government was defied. The first *Jatha* was sent to Suchetgarh under the command of Mazhar Ali Azhar and Choudhry Afzal Haq, an M.L.C. But when the *Jatha* reached Sialkot its leaders were permitted, through the good offices of the Governor of Jammu and the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, to enter the State to see things for themselves.²⁷¹ But the leaders of the Majlis did not succeed in their mission. In the Kashmir province they were not received with that honour and enthusiasm which they expected or deserved.²⁷² The main cause of their failure was the disagreement between them and the Prime Minister of Kashmir over the question of the establishment of a responsible Government in the State. The leaders told the Prime Minister that "a bilateral measure of reforms enabling the people to share the responsibilities of Government would ease the situation and confer lasting peace upon the country".²⁷³ The Prime Minister turned down the proposal and the Ahrar leaders left the State with bitter disappointment.

Back as they were in Lahore, Mazhar Ali reorganised the *Jathas* and marched to Suchetgarh. When the *Jatha* reached Sialkot, Mazhar Ali was arrested along with the volunteers. The arrest of Mazhar Ali was followed by a chain of *Jathas*, marching to Kashmir. An office was established by Hussam-ud-Din at Sialkot which became the centre of the Ahrar activities against the Kashmir State. Ashraf Ata and Comrade Janbaz were appointed dictators in charge of the Jhelum area. Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad and Hussam-ud-Din commanded the volunteers from Rawalpindi and Sialkot respectively.²⁷⁴ With these arrangements, the Ahrars launched a vigorous agitation. Hundreds of the *Jathas* entered the State territories but were immediately arrested and put behind the bars at Jammu. The utmost effort on the part of the Government was to keep the *Jatha* movement confined to the Jammu province only. The Ahrar agitation created an embarrassing situation for the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The situation in

Jammu was increasingly worsened by the agitation which occurred then in Mirpur. The State Government failed to bring the situation under control with the result that the Kashmir Durbar "represented to the Government of India their inability to prevent effectively the ingress of *Jathas* or to control the situation arising out of their entry."²⁷⁵ In response to the Durbar's request, the British troops were despatched to Mirpur. But the communal riots there and the problem of exodus which had arisen out of the troubles at Mirpur had at the same time created a difficult situation for the Punjab Government. As hundreds of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims had emigrated to the plains of the Punjab, their presence created an atmosphere of tenseness between the Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants of the Punjab province. A communal trouble was expected to break out between the two communities at any time which might involve the whole of British India. This apprehension forced the Government of India to promulgate the Kashmir Ordinance No. X of 1931 on November 4, 1931. The purpose of the Ordinance was "to prevent assemblies of men from proceeding from British India into the territories of . . . Jammu and Kashmir and promoting disorders therein".²⁷⁶ The Ordinance applied to all communities equally and was extended to the whole of the Punjab. By the end of March, 1932 most of the Ahrar leaders were arrested under the Ordinance and put in different jails of the Punjab. But the Ahrar agitation did not die down.

The Kashmir Prime Minister and the Ahrars

The role of the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Raja Hari Krishen Koul, in dealing with the Ahrar agitation was that of a double-dealer. The Ahrar agitation would not have assumed great dimensions had the Kashmir Prime Minister followed a policy of straightforwardness. His Machiavellian diplomacy was responsible, to a great extent, not only for the end of his own official career but also for bringing the State to the verge of destruction. He lacked in political foresight and believed more in double standards. The British thought that a compromise with the Ahrars would be in the interest of both the

Kashmir Durbar and the people. The Government of India went to the extent of suggesting to the Kashmir Durbar to send to Jammu and Sialkot "a party of sensible Muslims to reassure Punjab Muslims that discussions and negotiations with the Durbar are proceeding satisfactorily and that inroads of Punjab Muslims into the State will only damage Kashmir Muslim cause".²⁷⁷ Accordingly a deputation of Kashmir Muslims consisting of Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl and Moulvi Mohammad Yehyah was sent to Jammu to convince the Ahrars that negotiations with the Durbar were proceeding satisfactorily. But the deputation returned without any success.²⁷⁸

Another effort for a settlement between the Majlis-i-Ahrar and the Kashmir Durbar was made by Syed Sir Mehr Ali Shah, a Punjabi moderate politician. During his stay in Kashmir Syed Mehr Ali Shah found the attitude of the Kashmir Government quite oscillating. He left the State for Lahore in the state of dissatisfaction, and attributed the failure of his mission to the double standards of the State Government regarding the conduct of Kashmir affairs with the Ahrars. According to him the role of the Kashmir Government and its Prime Minister in dealing with the Ahrar agitation was deceptive. He observed that:²⁷⁹

- (i) The Kashmir Government, on the one hand, allowed Ahrar delegation to go to Kashmir and, on the other hand, they had been engaging agents to work up propaganda against Majlis-i-Ahrar.
- (ii) The Government of Kashmir tried to conspire with the All India Kashmir Committee for causing a division into the parties among Kashmir Muslims and bring about a conflict between them.
- (iii) A member of the ruling family, Sardar Kanwar Singh, had gone to Simla where he persuaded some Government officials to bring pressure to bear upon the members of All India Kashmir Committee to go to Kashmir to cause conflict among the Muslims there.
- (iv) The attitude of the Prime Minister had not been straight with the Ahrars throughout their stay in Kashmir. The

Prime Minister had held out certain promises to them without meaning to fulfil them, and had brought the Ahrars to disrepute among the public.

- (v) The Prime Minister was responsible for all this policy of the Durbar.

The policy of double-dealing and the enforcement of the Kashmir Ordinance in the Punjab to crush the Ahrar agitation did not, however, prevent the Ahrars from continuing the agitation. The agitation continued, though less intensively. At the same time, efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement between the Ahrars and the Kashmir Government were once again renewed.

In the beginning of December, 1931 Maulana Kifayat-Ullah, President of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind* and its Secretary, Maulana Syed Ahmad sought an interview with Maharaja Sir Hari Singh who was then in Delhi. He was accompanied by his Prime Minister, Raja Hari Krishen Koul. The interview was granted on December 2, 1931. In the course of discussion, the Jamiat leaders pointed out to the Maharaja that no discussion on Kashmir affairs was possible without the participation of the Ahrar leaders. Since almost all of them had been put in different jails in the Punjab, it was requested that they should be permitted to assemble together in one gaol in order to facilitate negotiations. The responsibility of conducting the negotiations between the Kashmir Government and the imprisoned Ahrar leaders fell on group of negotiators who came to be known as peace-makers.²⁸⁰ Accordingly, on December 22, 1931 the peace-makers held the first meeting with some selected leaders of *Majlis-i-Ahrar*²⁸¹ who had been brought to Borstal Gaol at Lahore from different prisons. As a result of this meeting, the Ahrar leaders placed the following conditions before the peace-makers on which to negotiate with the Kashmir Government:²⁸²

First, the establishment of responsible Government in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

Secondly, the parleys between the Ahrars and the Kashmir Government should be concluded in a responsible manner. In

other words, a representative of Kashmir Durbar should also join the deliberations.

Thirdly, ways and means should be found out for obtaining justice for Muslims of Kashmir and securing peace and prosperity for them.

In the negotiations between the peace-makers and the Government of Kashmir, one of the conditions was accepted by the Prime Minister. In the meanwhile, a new arrangement was made for bringing about a settlement between the Ahrars and the Kashmir Durbar. The Government of the Punjab deputed Khan Bahadur Sikandar Hayat Khan to negotiate the peace terms between the Kashmir State and the Ahrars.²⁸³ This arrangement was dexterously exploited by the Kashmir Prime Minister in shifting his burden from his own shoulders on the Punjab Government. It also gave him a pretext to avoid any further negotiations with the peace-makers. On December 25, 1931 Raja Hari Krishen Koul replied to Maulana Kifayat-Ullah that since the negotiations between the Ahrars and the Kashmir Government were being conducted by the Punjab Government, any further correspondence in this connection should be addressed to the Punjab Government. The Prime Minister advised the Mufti to see Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Sir Henry Craik in this respect. On January 5, 1932 Mufti Kifayat-Ullah and Maulana Syed Ahmad had a meeting with Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, who refused to discuss the matter in his official capacity. The peace-makers were thus rendered quite helpless. Mufti Kifayat-Ullah then wrote to the Prime Minister of Kashmir: "The Ahrar leaders were responsible for the conduct of Kashmir agitation. It was desirable that further discussions should take place with them direct and a responsible State official be appointed to conduct such negotiations."²⁸⁴ In his reply the Prime Minister wrote that the imprisoned leaders were under the control of the Government of the Punjab and it was not proper for the Kashmir Government to participate in those discussions by direct representation.²⁸⁵ The Kashmir Government thus immuned itself from any further responsibility and the peace talks came to an end.

Ahrar and Jamiat Alliance

The political alliance between the Majlis-i-Ahrar and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind was a natural consequence of the developments which had occurred from the beginning of the agitation to the end of the peace-making efforts made by the Jamiat leaders. The leaders of both parties became convinced that the Kashmir Government was not sincere in solving the troubles of the Muslim subjects. For the Ahrars renewal of the agitation was rather impossible because the operation of the Kashmir Ordinance in the Punjab had "suppressed the Ahrars with iron hand. The Ahrars' offices had been locked up. Its volunteers were ruthlessly beaten and suppressed."²⁸⁶ By January 15, 1932 almost all prominent leaders, workers and thousands of volunteers were put in prisons. On March 20, 1932 Mufti Kifayat-Ullah and on March 21, the Secretary of Majlis-i-Ahrar, Hafiz Sardar Ali, and the President of the Majlis, Maulana Abdul Majid, were arrested. The Ahrars were thus left without any leader to guide the agitation. The Majlis-i-Ahrar leaned to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind for guiding the agitation and provide it with leadership. Maulana Shams-ul-Haq issued a statement, declaring that 'the Majlis-i-Ahrar will in future be guided by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind and will associate itself with the Jamiat's programme'.²⁸⁷ The alliance between the two organizations was complete. This alliance infused a new life into the agitation against Kashmir Government. The new feature of the agitation was that the followers of both the parties renewed the agitation. This time the feeding centres of agitation were the areas outside the Punjab, which was under the Ordinance. Public meetings, processions and other demonstrations were organised at various places in the country. *Jatha* volunteers began their march to Kashmir. But before they could reach the State, they were arrested. The firm measures taken by the Government of India suppressed the agitation. By the end of 1932, the agitation began to collapse when most of the volunteers in the Punjab tendered apologies to the Government there. By middle of 1934, the agitation had completely lost its force. It got virtually extinguished in the Punjab in 1935. By this time

the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State had started to conduct the movement in terms of broader secular lines without getting involved into the inter-party rivalry of the Punjab Muslims.

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2. Professor J. N. Bhan, "Social and Economic Life", vide M. N. Misri and B.N. Misri, (eds), *Trade and Tour: Kashmir Guide Directory 1947-48*, (Srinagar, Rinemissray), p. 159.
3. *Report of the Galancy Commission appointed under orders of His Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur, dated the 12th November, 1931 to enquire into grievances and complaints*, (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1932), p. 38.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
5. Editorial, (Jammu, The Ranbir, Weekly, Har 9, 1983 (Samvat).
6. P. N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, (Kashmir Publishing Company, 1914), p. 95.
7. Malik Fazl Hussain, *op. cit.* p. 123 : Also (Lahore, *The Kashmiri*, Weekly, February 7, 1925).
8. "Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dayal and Amar Chand of Rawalpindi have been given a loan of three lakhs of rupees without interest for the development and manufacture of silk production." (Lahore, *The Inqilab*, October 5, 1930).
9. Malik Fazl Hussain, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
10. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *Personal Diary—1950-1970* (Manuscript unpublished), July 7, 1929, item 3.
11. *Tiyag Bhumi*, (Ajmer), Vol. 3, No. 2, 1929, p. 169.
12. *File No. 1890, Foreign Department, External-A, Proceeding, October, 1890, Nos. 176-180*, (National Archives of India).
13. *Memorial containing Demands of Kashmir Muslims published by All Indian Kashmir Committee*, (Lahore, Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, 1931), p. 21.
14. Within first five or six years of his rule, Maharaja Hari Singh granted jagirs to twenty five persons in Kashmir province. This number included only two Muslims. (Lahore, *The Inqilab*, November 29, 1931).
15. The table is prepared from figures given in *The Inqilab*, (Lahore),

June 26, 1930; July 8, 1930; October 19, 1930; January 4, 1931, February 5, 7 and 15, 1931.

16. "Memorial presented to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State by Kashayapa Banjhu in March 1934", *Sapru (Private and Personal) Papers* (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House). Also see Appendix A.
17. *File No. 66/102-C of 1921, Kashmir Government Records*, (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).
18. *The Kashmiri Musalman* (Weekly), Lahore, May 25, 1931.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Jatkha* means the meat of an animal slaughtered by having the head cut off in the non-Muslim (Sikh) way. It is unlawful under Islamic law. Both Jatkha and pork are forbidden meat for Muslims. The Muslims argued that the Government should respect their religious sentiments by prohibiting the sale of Jatkha and pork in case of beef.
21. *The Kashmiri Musalman* (Weekly), Lahore, May 25, 1931.
22. "...my religion is justice. That announcement was guided all my public acts and policies and I shall always adhere to it. I have not made...any discrimination against any class of my people on the grounds of religion." *The Jammu and Kashmir Government Gazette*. Vol. 43 No. 38, July 9, 1931, p. 255.
23. P. N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

Also,

About the origin and activities of the Reading Room Party, Justice M. Y. Saraf writes:

"As no political or non-political society could be found, Mr. Mohammad Rajab, in collaboration with another zealous collegiate, late Mr. Bashir Ahmed who retired as Revenue Assistant, Muzaffarabad, set up a small Reading Room in the house of one Syed Ali Akhbar which was occupied by a Post-Master, Sikandar. It was a cover meant to camouflage the political discussions held and to ward off immediate suspicion that could have otherwise attended the coming together of a dozen or more unemployed graduates. A sum of Rs. 82/- was raised by contribution to meet the cost of newspapers. Encouraged by the response of educated Muslims and the interest shown by the uneducated, the Reading Room was given a regular organizational shape. An election was held in which Mohammad Rajab and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were elected President and Secretary respectively. Mufti Jalal-ud-din, Hakim Ali, Pirzada Ahmed Shah Fazili and Hakim Ghulam Murtaza were elected to the Managing Committee.

"The plans that some of them had envisaged while at Aligarh now began to take shape. Having succeeded in setting up a base camp in the shape of Reading Room, they began establishing contact with the Muslim newspapers at Lahore. They also established contact with Sir N. L. Bannerji who was editing a monthly magazine in

London, named, "Indian States" which was exclusively devoted to the betterment of the inhabitants of the Princely States. As a result of this contact, articles based on the data furnished by them began to appear in the magazine bringing home to British public opinion the pathetic condition of the State people. Maulana Azad welcomed the setting up of the Reading Room as the corner stone of a bright future for the State. Maulana Azad Subhani, Khatib Jamia Masjid, Calcutta who was considered a leading exponent of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's Pan-Islamic movement was also taken into confidence..."Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom (1814-1946)*, (Lahore, Pakistan, Feroz Sons, 1978), pp. 354-355.

24. P. N. Bazaz, *Kashmir-ka-Gandhi*, (Kashmir Publishing Company, 1935), p. 17.
25. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 6, 1930, item 5.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Makhmoor Kashmiri, B.A., "A Short Biography of Freedom Movement in Kashmir" (Srinagar, *The Hamdard* (Weekly), August 31, 1938, p. 39.
29. Mahmud, B.A. (Alig), "Cabinet-Wazarat-ki-Daraz-dastiyan", (Lahore, *The Kashmiri Musalman* (Weekly), May 10, 1931.
30. G. R. Raghavan, *The Warning of Kashmir* (Allahabad, The Pioneer Press, 1931), p. 67.
31. (Lahore, *The Kashmir Musalman* (Weekly), May 10, 1931.
32. G. R. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
33. (Patna, *The Indian Nation*, July 4, 1931).
34. *Ibid.*
35. P. N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 122.
36. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, "Tahrik-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir", (Srinagar, *The Aina* (Weekly), September 7, 1971, p. 5.
37. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 9, 1931, item 1.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.* Also:
The meeting was attended by Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Munshi Assad-Ullah Wakil, Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Wakil, Nirwaiz Hamadani, Khwaja Noor-ud-Din Kongroo, Rahim Shah Banday, Mufti Sharif-ud-din and Mir Abdullah Shah. Mufti Sharif-ud-din is said to have stated, "If the Quran had been insulted in England what would the Muslims have done in Kashmir?"
40. *Ibid.* dated June 6, 1931, item 1.
41. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 21, 1931, item 2.
42. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated June 23, 1931, item 2.
43. *Ibid.*, dated June 25, 1931, item 6.
44. *Ibid.*, dated June 27, 1931, item 2.
45. The deputation of Jammu Muslims consisted of the following members:

- Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, Mistry Yaqub Ali, Qazi Gauhar Rehman and Sheikh Abdul Hamid., *Ibid.*
46. *The Statesman*, July 15, 1931, p. 9.
 47. Habib Maqai (witness No. 54); *Written Statements, Part I (English), Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee, July 1931* (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1931), p. 126.
 48. Zuhar prayer means mid-day prayer.
 49. "God is great", "Long Live Islam" and "Long Live Abdul Qadeer" is the translation of the slogans, respectively.
 50. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, "Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir", (Srinagar, *the Aina* (Weekly), October 30, 1971, p. 4.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah...has been arrested after the attack on the jail on July 13..."File No. 12-C/31 dated September 28, 1931, (National Archives of India).
The other leaders arrested were S. Gauhar Rehman, Mistry Yaqub Ali, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas (all from Jammu), Moulvi Abdul Rahim and Ghulam Nabi Gilkar. They were arrested in the night between 13 and 14 July, 1931.
 53. Rashid Tasir, *Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir* (Srinagar, Hafiz Publications, 1968), p. 108.
 54. *Ibid.*
 55. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated August 22, 1931.
 56. Written statement of Pt. P. N. Bazaz, President Sanatan Dharm Young Men's Association, *Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee Report, July 1931*, (Jammu, The Ranbir Government Press), p. 56.
 57. Written statement of Pt. Gwash Lal, B.A. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
 58. Rashid Tasir, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
 59. *Alfiaz* (Delhi), August 13, 1931, p. 5.
Also:
Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru advised the Government "to be large-hearted and liberal in considering the grievances of the public", and "the Maulana advised the Muslims to be non-communal in outlook in political affairs". P. N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 143.
 60. *The Alfaz*, (Qadian), September 1, 1931, p. 7.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. *Ibid.*, p. 7, Col. 3.
 63. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), July 28, 1931, p. 10.
 64. *Ibid.*
 65. "Kindly permit a deputation consisting of Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura, Khwaja Hassan Nivami, Khan Bahadur, Sheikh Rahim Baksh and Moulvi M. Ismail Gazhnavi to wait upon your Highness some time next week in connection with Kashmir situation." Telegram sent by the Secretary of All India Kashmir Committee to the Maharaja of Kashmir. *The Statements*, August 4, 1931, p. 10.

66. Telegram from the Prime Minister of Kashmir to the All India Kashmir Committee. *The Statesman*, August 6, 1931, p. 10.
67. *The Statesman*, July 28, 1931, p. 10.
68. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), November 19, 1931, p. 3.
69. The Kashmir Day was celebrated in the Punjab and other places in India as:
 (1) South Sargodah; (2) Chak No. 332 under the presidentship of Chowdhry Sultan Ali; (3) Gokhudal (Bahawalpur) under the presidentship of Moulvi Abdul Hakim, Imam-i-Jamia Masjid; (4) Bhatyath (Attak District) under the presidency of Mian Ghulam Rasool, Imam-i-Jamia Masjid; (5) Kot Cheji, under the presidentship of Moulvi Mohammad Sharif; (6) Chandwar Bazar (Amrawali District) under the presidentship of Haji Seth Daood; (7) Begumpur (Hushiarpur District); (8) Qilah Lal Singh (Gurdaspur District) under the presidentship of Khan Mohammad Yaqub Khan, Lambardar; (9) Serah (Jullundar) under the presidentship of Hakim Fateh-ud-Din; (10) Chak No. 35 South Sargodah under the presidentship of Syed Mohammad Anwar Ali Shah; (11) Wazirabad (Kral Gurdaspur District); (12) Ludhiana; (13) Katriyan-Wala (Gujarat District) under the presidentship of Sheikh Mohammad Baksh Ahmadi; (14) Rahhun under the presidentship of Chowdhry Abdul Rehman Khan; (15) Kathgarh; (16) Bala Kot (North Western Frontier Province) under the presidency of Allahabad Khan; (17) Renala Kurd, under the presidency of Dr. Hashmat-Ullah Khan; (18) Peshawar under the presidency of Mohammad Salim Khan; (19) Bangalore under the presidency of Mohammad Sharif Khan (advocate); (20) Malaishwar (Bihar and Orissa) under the presidency of Sheikh Tufil-ul-Nabi; (21) Ganhu (Sialkot); (22) Dilawarpur; (23) Ahatwal; (24) Mukandpur (Jullunder District), *Alfazl*, Qadian, August 27, 1931, pp. 9-10.
70. "Letter to the Editor by General Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia Ferozpur", *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, August 28, 1931, p. 6.
71. *The Statesman*, August 16, 1931, pp. 9-10.
72. *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, August 24, 1931, p. 4.
 Also: *The Statesman*, August 16, 1931, p. 9.
73. Letter to the Editor by Ahmed Ibrahim Bhanu, Secretary Rander Young Mohammadan Brotherhood, Surat District, *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, August, 28, 1931, pp. 6 & 7.
74. *Ibid*
75. *The Statesman*, August 15, 1931, p. 9.
76. *The Indian Nation*, August 18, 1931.
77. *The Statesman*, August 16, 1931, pp. 9 & 10.
78. Presidential speech delivered by Dr. Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal at a meeting held in connection with the Kashmir Day Celebrations at Municipal Gardens, Lahore on August 14, 1931. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), August 22, 1931.
79. *Ibid*
80. *Ibid*.

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81. Resolution passed in a meeting by the Muslims of Calcutta in the Hallidi Parik, Calcutta, in connection with the Kashmir Day, under the presidentship of Sir Abdullah Suharawardy. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), August 18, 1931.
82. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), August 27, 1931, p. 8.
83. See Appendix B.
84. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), August 18, 1931.
85. *Memorial of grievances presented to His Highness by the Muslim representatives on August 15, 1931*, pp. 7-11.
86. *Ibid.*
87. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
88. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), August 26, 1931.
89. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
90. *Middleton Report on an Inquiry into disturbances in Kashmir* (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 5-11-88-260, 1931), p. vii.
91. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
92. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, August 28, 1931.
93. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
94. *The Alfazl*, (Qadian), December 8, 1931, p. 4.
95. Raja Villayat Ali Khan, an ancient Jagirdar asserted that "in Raja Hari Kishan the Muslims have more confidence than in thousands of Muslim wazirs. Mr. Nazir Hussain, another prominent landlord appealed to Kashmiri Muslims not to heed outside agitators and quoted from the Holy Quran to prove that who agitated against their ruler were infidels. Similarly Mr. Akram Khan, leader of Phoons, warned the Kashmiris against playing into the hands of scheming press propaganda". *The Indian Nation* (Patna), dated September 22, 1931.
96. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), September 3, 1931.
97. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
98. At a meeting held by Kashmiri Pandits at Banamuhalla, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were abused. Hafiz Muhammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, September 2, 1931, item 1.
99. *Ibid.*, dated September 3, 1931.
100. *Ibid.*, dated August 31, 1931, item 2.
101. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), September 10, 1931, p. 1.
102. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, September 3, 1931, item 5.
103. Home Political Secret. *File 423 (2); File No. F. 12-C/131 September 28, 1931. Memorandum from the Resident of Kashmir*, (National Archives of India).
104. *Ibid.*
105. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir, *File No. 55-C*, dated and received September 22, 1931," *File 423 (2) of 1931/Home/Political Secret*.
106. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir, *No. 56-C*, dated September 22, 1931." *Ibid.*
107. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), September 29, 1931, p. 12.

108. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir No. 56-C, September 22, 1931". *File 423(2) of 1931/Home/Political Secret*.
109. Limitation on the number accompanying (dead) bodies was withdrawn on condition that internment was carried out in graveyard close to Jamia Masjid. This condition was observed. (Telegram from Resident in Kashmir, No. 58-C September 23, 1931). *Ibid*.
110. *Indian Nation* (Patna), September 30, 1931.
111. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir" No. 60-C, dated September 24, 1931, *File No. 423 (2) of 1931 Home/Political Secret*.
112. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir, No. 56-C, dated September 22, 1931". *Ibid*.
113. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), October 1, 1931, p. 9.
114. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir, No. 60-C. dated September 24, 1931", *File No. 423 (2) of 1931/Home/Political Secret*.
115. Telegram from Resident in Kashmir. Serial Nos. 59 and 60 dated September 24, 1931. *Ibid*.
116. *Middleton Report on an Inquiry into disturbances in Kashmir* (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1931) p. 31.
117. *File No. 423 (2) of 1931 Home/Political Secret* (National Archives of India).
118. Middleton Report, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
119. "Telegram from Resident in Kashmir, No. 63-C, dated September 27, 1931", *File 423 (2) of 1931* (National Archives of India).
120. "Memorandum from Resident in Kashmir, dated September 28, 1931, *File No. 12-C/31*.
121. *Alfazi* (Qadian), October 1, 1931, p. 8.
122. Middleton Report, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
123. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
124. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), October 1, 1931, p. 1.
125. "A written and signed statement from Lieutenant Colonel M.E.S. Johnson, D.S.O. Indian Army (retired) dated September 26, 1931", *Enclosure to Serial 84, File No. 12/C/31*.
126. "Brigadier Sutherland said, 'But surely the soldiers do not go round ordering inhabitants to shout *Maharaja-ki-jai*. Who gave the soldiers this order?...'. The Superintendent of Police replied, 'I do not know who gave the order but the order was given...' ". *Ibid*.
127. *File No. 423 (2). Home/Political Secret* (National Archives of India).
128. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
129. Middleton Report, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
130. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 2, 1931, item 2.
131. *Ibid*, October 3, 1931, item 2.
132. *The Alfazl*, (Qadian), September 28, 1931, p. 2.
133. *The Alfazl*, (Qadian), November 19, 1931, p. 12.
134. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, (Kashmir Publishing Company, 1941), p. 95.
135. Editorial of *the Hind* quoted by *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi December 5, 1931, p. 1.

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136. Editorial, *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, August 20, 1931, p. 3.
137. Letter from His Highness, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to the Resident in Kashmir, October 7, 1931, *File 423 (2) of 1931, Home/Political Secret*, (National Archives of India).
138. *Ibid.*
139. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 5, 1931, item 4.
140. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), October 12, 1931.
141. *The Alfazl* (Qadian), September, 20, 1931, p. 2.
142. *Ibid.*
143. Telegram to the Resident in Kashmir, No. 2401-S dated September 25, 1931. *File 423 (2) of 1931, Home/Political Secret*.
144. Enclosure to Memorandum, Serial No. 112, Copy of the Maharaja's Proclamation. *File No. 12-C/31*, (National Archives of India).
145. See Appendix-C.
146. *Memorial containing demands of Kashmir Muslims*, (published by the All India Kashmir Committee), 1931, pp. 1-2.
147. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-24.
148. *The Alfazl*, (Qadian), October 25, 1931, p. 1.
Also:
At every meeting organised in connection with the Muslim demands, the leaders explained to the people the content of the demands which had been presented to the Maharaja. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1931, No. 57, Vol. 19, p. 11.
149. *The Statesman*, October 27, 1931, p. 9.
150. *The Statesman*, November 16, 1931.
151. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October, 12, 1931, item 4.
152. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
153. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, January 22, 1932, item 2.
154. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, August 7, 1972, p. 4.
155. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, January 23, 1932, item 4.
156. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had nominated Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as his successor, and in case the Bakshi was arrested then Syed Mabarik Shah was to succeed the Bakshi. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, January 25, 1932, item 1.
Also: Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, August 15, 1972, p. 4.
157. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, January 26, 1932, item 1.
158. *The Statesman*, February 17, 1932.
159. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), February 8, 1932.
160. "The Raja of Uri said that there was no reason for the Muslims to kill the Hindus. This is quite false. Actually the Muslims have been killed for no fault of theirs. The Muslims of Khatai and Poonch carrying flags on which was written the "*Kalma-Tayiba*", were in a procession shouting "*Allah o-Akbar*". They were on their way to offer the "*Jumat-ul-Vida*" prayer at the Jam a Masjid, Uri. Raja Ali Gauhar Khan, Tehsildar, ordered them to stop shouting "*Takbir*" and prohibited them to carry flags. These Muslims were also ordered

to proceed on in lines, each line consisting of two men. The Muslims agreed to form lines, but they refused to part with their flags and stop shouting Takbir. When the procession proceeded up along the hilly traces, the Tehsildar ordered firing killing those in front of the line and wounding several others. Some got drowned into the river below the mountains. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, February 5, 1932, item 2.

161. See Appendix D.
162. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, September 1, 1932, item 3.
163. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
164. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, April 24, 1933, item 2.
165. Whether Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah should deposit the security or not a public meeting was organised at the Jamia Masjid to know opinion of the Moulvi's followers. When Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Shah Mubarki asked the people's opinion they expressed themselves against depositing the security. They told that they were also ready to court imprisonment. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1933.
166. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1933.
167. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1933.
168. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1933.
169. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1933, item 3.
170. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1933.
171. Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil had told the author of the diary (Hafiz Mohammad Ismail) that the State believed Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was a Bolshevik agent. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1933, item 3.
172. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), February 24, 1932.
173. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 13, 1933, item 2.
174. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, "The History of Struggle for Freedom", *The Aina Weekly*, Srinagar May 7, 1973, p. 4.
175. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 14, 1933, item 3.
Also: Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *the Aina Weekly*, Srinagar, May 7, 1973, p. 4.
176. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 15, 1933, item 2.
177. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1933, item 2.
178. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina Weekly* Srinagar, May 7, 1973, p. 4.
179. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 26, 1933, item 4.
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1933, item 2.
Also:
Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *the Aina Weekly* Srinagar, May 7, 1973, p. 8.
182. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1933, item 3.
183. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, May 15, 1973, p. 5.
184. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, August 7, 1933.

185. *Ibid.*
186. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi *op. cit.*, the *Weekly Aina* May 23, 1973, p. 4.
187. Rashid Tasir, *Taharik-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir* (Muhafiz Publications, Srinagar) p. 300.
188. Pir Dohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, the *Aina* (weekly) Srinagar, June 23, 1973, p. 8.
189. *Ibid.*
190. Rashid Tasir, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
191. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
192. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, the *Aina* weekly Srinagar, August 7, 1973, p. 4.
193. *Ibid.*, August 31, 1973, p. 4.
194. "Report by Major General R.G. Finlayson on the visit of Inspection and Enquiry into Mirpur Tehsil, February 17, 1932", *File No. 100-(1)*. (National Archives of India).
195. *Ibid.*
196. *Ibid.*
197. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
198. "Report by Major General R.G. Finlayson on the visit of Inspection and Enquiry into Mirpur Tehsil, February 17, 1932", *op. cit.*
199. D.O. Letter from H.W. Emerson, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department to De Motenmorency, Government of the Punjab, January 2, 1932, *File No. 100 (1)—P of 1932 Secret* (National Archives of India).
200. "Memorandum of a Conference regarding the refugees", *File No. 100 (1)—P of 1932—Secret* (National Archives of India).
201. *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, February 5, 1932, p. 6.
202. *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, January 24, 1932, p. 3.
203. *Ibid.*
204. Letter from C.C. Garbet, Chief Secretary to Punjab Government No. 15996-(26)-S-B dated April 5, 1932 Proceedings of the Conference, *File No. 100 (1)—P of 1932—Secret*.
205. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
206. An application was submitted by a Hindu deputation including Rajputs, Dogras, Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs to the Maharaja. The Maharaja replied that "the legislation had been enacted after due consideration and cannot be amended unless there are cogent reasons thereof and unless the matter has been thoroughly investigated". *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September, 4, 1934, p. 10.
207. Letter dated S.S. Multan August 19, 1931 from S.B. Moonji to Maharaja Sahab", *Moonji Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti).
208. *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, August 20, 1931, p. 4.
209. *Ibid.*
210. *Memorial presented by the Sanatan Dharm Youngmens Association on*

behalf of Kashmiri Pandits to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, October 24, 1931, p. 3.

Also See Appendix—E.

211. *Ibid.*
212. *Ibid.*
213. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), October 31, 1931, p. 11.
214. Telegram to the Resident in Kashmir, No. 2509-S, October 8, 1931, File No. 423 (2) P, Home/Political Department, 1931 (National Archives of India).
215. *Ibid.*
216. Letter from the Resident in Kashmir to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, October 14, 1931. *Ibid.*
217. Telegram to Resident in Kashmir, No. 2509-S October 8, 1931. *Ibid.*
218. Letter from His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to the Resident in Kashmir, October 7, 1931. *Ibid.*
219. *The Ranbir*, Weekly (Jammu), May 2, 1931, p. 7.
220. "Letter from Moonji to J.B. Galancy" dated March 9, 1934", Moonji Papers, (Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti).
Also: See Appendix—F.
221. Jammu and Kashmir, Commission of Inquiry. *Report of Galancy Commission to enquire into the grievances and complaints*, (Jammu, 1932).
222. *The Ranbir*, Weekly (Jammu), May 30, 1932, p. 8.
223. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
224. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, May 6, 1932, item 2.
Also: *The Statesman* (Calcutta), May, 7, 1932, p. 9.
225. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1932, item 1.
226. *The Statesman*, (Calcutta), May, 24, 1932.
227. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, April 26, 1932, item 5.
Also: Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina Weekly* (Srinagar), October 15, 1972, p. 5.
228. Memorial presented to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State by Kashyapbandhu Sapru (*Private and Personal Papers* (Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
229. "...the question of unemployment of the middle classes is as acute at present in British India as it is in Kashmir. I note from the reply of the Prime Minister (a copy of which you have sent to me) that His Highness Government have been and are striving to secure a fair representation for all communities in the services and that the Kashmir Pandit community need have no apprehension on this account. I do not look upon this reply as unsympathetic", "Letter dated March 2, 1933, from Tej Bahadur Sapru to Pandit Jialal Kilam", *Ibid.*
230. "Letter dated Albert Road Allahabad May 15, 1934, from Tej Bahadur Sapru to Kashyapbandhu. *Ibid.*
231. "However, whatever is done is done. I think a representation on

the first part of the Galancy Commission Report which is published must be sent through the Hindu Mahasabha and on its strength we must demand for the fixing up of a date by the Prime Minister to receive our Deputation. If that is refused, which he will dare not in all probability, then we shall approach the Viceroy with the same representation. Without doing these essential formalities it is impossible for the Mahasabha to openly support and encourage the movement of civil disobedience started by the Hindus of Kashmir. I am receiving appeals after appeals from them for the support of the Mahasabha..." "Letter dated, Nagpur, May 27, 1932 from B.S. Moonji to Raja Saheb", *Moonji Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).

232. "Letter No. 2797 dated, Srinagar, February 25, 1933 from Jia Lal Kilam to Tej Bahadur Sapru", *Sapru (Private and Personal) Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
Also. See Appendix—G.
233. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), November 1, 1931.
234. *Ibid.*
235. "Memorial presented to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State by Kashyapbandhu, *op. cit.*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
236. S.R. Kulkarni, *The Truth and Kashmir*, (New Delhi, Krishna Publishing House, 1957), pp. 82-83.
237. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), October 31, 1931, p. 9.
238. "We have cogent reasons to believe that communist agents have a strong hand in this agitation". This statement was given by the Hindu Deputation in an interview to the Maharaja of Kashmir on October 31, 1931, *The Statesman*, October 31, 1931, p. 9.
239. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), November 16, 1931.
240. *Ibid.*
241. *Ibid.*
242. Movement whose aim is to carry the message or preach Islam to non-believers.
243. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), November 16, 1931.
244. Statement of Hindu Maha Sabha to press issued on November 18, 1931", *The Indian Nation* (Patna), November 23, 1931.
245. "...Your Highness will...give...consideration to our humble Memorial and will thus strengthen the bonds of love and affection by inspiring Muslim subjects, who have ever been loyal to your Highness' Family, with even stronger feelings of loyalty and devotion." Memorial containing Demands of Kashmir Muslims (Published by (Lahore) All India Kashmir Committee) p. 17.
246. The Presidential Address delivered by Sardar Budh Singh, M.L.A., at Sikh Political Conference, *Indian Nation* (Patna), November 25, 1931.
247. *Ibid.*
248. *Ibid.*

249. *The Indian Nation* (Patna), November 23, 1931.
250. *Ibid.*
251. "I must frankly tell you that while we are engaged here in life and death struggle against the Moslem demands which have the powerful backing of the Government it is very painful to note that you should have added to our difficulties and undermined our position...The history of Kashmere ought to have opened your eyes, but unfortunately the Hindus cannot take an all India view of such matters...We cannot afford to weaken the Sikh-Hindu position in Punjab which is the gate of Moslem invasion. If this gate is loosened then the whole of India is at the feet of Islam and Pathans...What have the Hindus done in Hyderabad Deccan against the Nizam in rebellion to what the Moslems are doing in Kashmere a Hindu state. How are the Hindus and Jats of your profound new province helping the Kashmere Hindu Raj. The Hindus are demoralised and degenerated and have no martial spirit; the Marahatta also is no exception..."Letter dated November 8, 1931 from B.S. Moonji to Deshbandhu Gupta" *Moonji Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
252. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), November 24, 1931, p. 10.
253. D.O. Letter from C.C. Garbet No. 11162-S B, October 5, 1931. *File 423 (2)—P of 1931* (National Archives of India).
254. *The Alfazl* (Qadain), November 1, 1931, p. 2.
255. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), June 23, 1933, p. 10.
256. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), June 28, 1933, p. 6.
257. *Ibid.*
258. *Ibid.*
259. A compromise was made by the members of the Working Committee when Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmed proposed that any applicant might become a member of Kashmir Committee on a mere payment of his subscription but he could not exercise his right of membership unless his name had been submitted first to the Working Committee and then to the General Body of the Committee. This was accepted by fifteen members. It thus secured a compromise to the original proposal of Dr. Iqbal. But its essence lay in the fact that it left, ultimately, the Ahmadiyas in position of dominance over the question of membership in the Working Committee and the General Body. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), June 23, 1933, p. 10.
260. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), July 4, 1933, p. 10.
261. *Ibid.*
262. A joint statement issued by prominent local members of the old Kashmir Committee ran:
 "We the local members of the All India Kashmir Committee deem it a public duty to declare that the proposal to hold meeting of the old Kashmir Committee in Lahore is calculated to cause serious discussions and a split in the Muslim community. We believe that this course, which is going to be adopted by some of the supporters of

- Mirza Mahmood, is not in the national interest, but has been taken in order to reinstate the Mirza as President of All India Kashmir Committee, an office which he voluntarily resigned ..." *Ibid.*, July 20, 1933, p. 10.
263. D.C. Gupta, *Indian National Movement*, (Delhi, Vikas Publications, 1970), pp. 186-187.
264. Aziz-Ur-Rehman Jamie Ludhianavi, *Rasis-u-Ahrar Maulana Habib-Ur-Rehman Ludhianavi-Aur-Hindustan-i-Jung-i-Azadi* (Delhi, Aala Press, Talimi Samaj Markaz), p. 144.
Also: See the Presidential address delivered by Maulana Habib-Ur-Rehman Ludhianavi, Delhi, *Al-Jamiat*, July 20, 1931, p. 1.
265. *Ibid.*
266. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
267. The resolution passed at a meeting held at Lahore on August 14, 1931 called upon the Masjid-i-Ahrar and all other associations to start immediately the programme of Direct Action. This decision was taken after the Muslim Deputation was refused entry into the territories of his state by the Maharaja of Kashmir, (Delhi, *Al-Jamiat*), August 24, 1931, p. 5.
268. *Ibid.*
269. *Ibid.*
270. *Hukumat-i-Kashmir-say-Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islami-i-Hind-kay-Mutallibat*, a manifesto of demands issued from the office of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, Lahore on August 18, 1931.
271. In a written statement Mazhar Ali said:
"Thank God the Kashmir State administration has thought it advisable to allow me and Choudhary Afzal Haq to enter the State territory to study the political situation here, and thus a tense situation, which has been developed into a conflict, was eased. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), September 5, 1935, p. 10.
272. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, September 7, 1931, item 3.
273. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), October 23, 1931, p. 10.
274. Ashraf Ata, *Kuchh Shikasta Dastan, Kuchh Pareshan Tazkiray*, (Lahore, Sind Sagar Academy, 1966), p. 133.
275. *File No. 13/23-31 of 1931. Government of India, Delhi Records/Home Department* (National Archives of India).
276. *Ibid.*
277. Telephonic message from C.C. Garbet to the Government of the Punjab, November 10, 1931, *File No. 423 (2) of 1931, Political Secret* (National Archives of India).
278. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, November 7, 1931, item 1 and November 9, 1931, item 4.
279. D.O. letter from C.C. Garbet to the Government of the Punjab, November 10, 1931, *File 423 (2) of 1931 Political Secret*.
280. Afzal Haq Choudhry, Khwaja Abdur Rehman Ghazi, Maulana Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari, Mufti Kifayat Ullah and Maulana Syed Ahmad

- were the peace-makers, *The Statesman* (Calcutta), March 5, 1932, p. 3.
281. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Maulana Ahmad Ali, Maulana Habib-Ur-Rehman, Maulana Mohammad Chiragh, Maulana Mohammad Daud Ghaznavi, Sheikh Hussam-ud-Din, Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad and Master Mohammad Shafi were selected from among the imprisoned Ahrar leaders for discussion on peace-negotiations. *Ibid.*
282. Letter from Mufti Kifayat-Ullah to Raja Hari Krishen Koul, the Prime Minister of Kashmir dated December 23, 1931. *Ibid.*
283. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), January 3, 1932, p. 6.
284. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), March 5, 1932, p. 3.
285. *Ibid.*
286. Aziz-ur-Rehman, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
287. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), March 25, 1932, p. 10.

Struggle for Responsible Government

The twentieth century began with the rise of new nationalism in India. The policy of reactionarism of the British imperialism under Lord Curzon's Governor-Generalship gave rise to the militant nationalism of the extremist section of the Indian National Congress. After the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Aligarh Movement, the Muslims of India established in 1906 a separate organisation known as the All India Muslim League. The Indian politics came under a clear-cut division between the Congress and the League. The political separatism of Muslims was encouraged by the British rulers when it gave recognition to the Muslim claims of communal representation on the central legislature under the Government of India Act, 1909. Then the first World War broke out in 1914. These developments were significant. The extremist movement had roused political consciousness among the Hindus of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Arya Samajists were appreciably successful in enlisting the support of the non-Muslims in favour of the militant nationalism of the Congress. But this support was not exploited by them for the removal of the evils of the system of Government in their own State. Their effort was to identify themselves with the mainstream of freedom movement launched by the Congress without antagonising the ruler of the State. The Muslims had never allied themselves with the Congress or the Muslim

League. They had risen on several occasions against the rule of injustice in the State, aiming at the redressal of their community's grievances. Before 1931 they had never launched any organised movement for responsible Government in the State. They could not even exploit the Khilafat movement for this purpose. It was only towards the late twenties of the present century that a few Kashmiri Pandits demanded a legislature and right of representation. But they did not organise an effective movement for the purpose. They only got a few articles published in the columns of some newspapers outside the State.

The demand for responsible Government was for the first time voiced by the Muslims as a vital part of their struggle for freedom. Under the pressure of the Muslim agitation, the Maharaja made an announcement that if any of his subjects designed to submit reasonable demands they would receive his sympathetic consideration. In response to this announcement, various communities submitted their memorials containing their demands. The memorial presented by the Kashmiri Muslims was "conspicuous for the fact that political demands contained in it were of national character."¹

Character of the Muslim Demands

The memorial containing the demands of the Muslims envisaged the future political system of the Jammu and Kashmir State based on the principle of representative form of Government, providing "the increasing association of the State subjects in the administration of the State on the lines of progressive representative form of Government".² It visualized a legislature consisting of seventy members, including thirty members nominated by the ruler. Out of the nominated block, fifteen members including ten members who were to represent the Rajput ruling community, were to be non-officials and the remaining fifteen to be nominated officials. The franchise was suggested to be as wide as possible and practicable and the method of election to be direct one.³

The memorial provided for an Executive appointed by the ruler from among the elected members according to their

numerical strength in the legislature. The Executive was to remain in office for five years. Any member of the Executive was to vacate his seat if seventy per cent of the members of the Assembly passed a vote of no-confidence against him. The Ministers were to remain responsible to the ruler but they were at the same time to respect, under the ruler's instructions, the opinion of the majority in the legislature and act in conformity with it in practice.⁴ The Ministers were bound to furnish any information to the members of the Assembly concerning their departments, but no information could be asked with respect to the reserved subjects.

The Legislative Assembly as visualized by the Muslim Memorial was the sole authority for making laws. It was provided that no law which was not passed by the Assembly and no old law which was not abrogated by it should be enforced in the State. The Assembly was to have power over purse. A fixed percentage of the total income of the State was to be set apart as a privy purse for the ruler and his family. It also demanded the privileges of the members of the Assembly.⁵

Fundamental Rights

The significant character of the Muslim demands was the demand for fundamental rights of the people of the State. This demand was important in that it was in line with the famous resolution on Fundamental Rights of the people of India passed by the Indian National Congress at its session held at Karachi on March 25, 1931. It was for the first time "the Congress tried to define the social and economic contents of Swaraj as it conceived".⁶ The objective of the Congress was that "in order to end the exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real economic freedom".⁷ The resolution on Fundamental Rights consisted of various clauses dealing with socio-economic and political freedoms of the people of India.⁸

Like the Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights, the demands contained in the memorial consisted of the right to freedom of religion as obtained in British India; right to freedom of assemblage and association; right to freedom of speech and

press; right to equality and equal treatment before the law for all State subjects⁹ without discrimination on grounds of religion, caste, creed and colour.

Local self Government

The Muslim memorialists visualized the establishment of democratically oriented local-self Government institutions such as municipalities, town-area-committees and notified town-area-committees with majority of elected members in the State. The memorial provided for an elected President from among elected non-official members of the municipal committees. It also provided that only ten per cent of the total membership of a municipal committee should constitute the nominated strength. Where the total strength of a municipality was less than ten members, nomination of one member was suggested provided that the elected majority was not affected at any cost.¹⁰

The memorial submitted by the Rajputs did not relate to constitutional problems at all. Soon after the submission of the memorials by different communities, the Maharaja appointed a commission under Mr. Galancy to enquire into the grievances of his subjects and to make such recommendations as it thought necessary.

Constitutional Reforms Conference

With a view to associating the people more closely with the administration of the State, Mr. Galancy was entrusted, in November, 1931, with the task of formulating proposals for the constitutional reforms. A Constitutional Reforms Committee consisting of two officials and twelve non-official members representing various communities residing in the State, was appointed by the ruler for this purpose. The Conference began its work on March 14, 1932 and had fourteen sittings. The only member who did not participate in the deliberations of the Committee was Choudhary Ghulam Abbas of the Muslim Conference Party.

Composition of the Constitutional Reforms Conference: An Evaluation

The composition of the Constitutional Reforms Conference was undemocratic. It was not a truly representative body of the people. Out of the total strength of its members, both official and non-official, only seven members were Muslims. The Muslims who formed the majority of population in the State were, thus, treated at par with the minority communities. Even representatives of the people and the rest were nominated by the ruler from among the vested interests such as *Jagirdars*, *Zaildars*, etc. Thus only a little more than two per cent of Muslims represented the popular will on the Constitutional Reforms Conference. The same treatment was meted out to the Pandits whose sole member, Pandit P.N. Bazaz, who had already worked with Mr. Galancy on the Grievances Commission against the wishes of his community, was retained on the Constitutional Reforms Conference.¹¹ Various non-Muslim interests were given representation on the Constitutional Conference. But no representation was given to the peasants, the commercial classes and the labourers and workers. In the absence of these important elements, the Constitutional Reforms Conference lacked a truly democratic and representative character and the whole affair seemed only a one-way traffic. Two objections were raised to the composition of the Conference. The first objection related to unrepresentative character of the Conference, and the second to the fact that even the selection of the members was not made on proper grounds. Both these objections were rejected by the ruler on the following grounds:¹²

First, the Government did not want to decide the question of constitution-making by means of a majority vote. The appointment of the members of the Constitutional Reforms Conference on the basis of communal strength in proportion to their population would have unnecessarily increased the number of members which would not achieve any useful purpose.

Secondly, the same representatives of the Muslims of Srinagar and Jammu cities and of the Pandit community who

had already served on the Galancy Commission had been asked to continue the work on the Constitutional Reforms Conference simply because they had by no reason lost the confidence of their communities or electors.

Finally, the recognised associations such as the Anjuman-i-Islamia and the Yuvak Sabha had sent their representatives to the Reforms Conference but where there was no association in existence the principle of nomination was adopted.

Problems before the Constitutional Reforms Conference

The first problem which the Constitutional Reforms Conference faced was the question whether an establishment of a Legislative Assembly was or was not desirable in the State. The other problems related to the question of the composition, powers and functions of the Legislative Assembly and the question of franchise.

As for the establishment of a legislature in the State, the Muslim community had already demanded it. The Pandits had also expressed their desire for the establishment of a legislature if "it was not corrupted by the canker of communalism".¹³ Their main anxiety was to see that any constitutional scheme should guarantee safeguards for the minorities. The non-Muslims of Jammu and the Frontier areas doubted the propriety of an early establishment of a legislature on the ground that the political conditions in the State being unstable, any radical change would not be wise "until the Government have asserted the majesty of law and sound means for protecting the lives and property of the minority communities".¹⁴ There were also differences of opinion among the members of the Constitutional Reforms Conference with regard to questions of the composition and functions of the Legislative Assembly and the franchise. In the absence of an agreed formula, the President of the Constitutional Reforms Conference made his own recommendations regarding the proposed constitution. The proposed Constitution provided the composition, powers and functions of the Legislative Assembly and also the basis on which the problem of franchise was to be determined.

Composition of the Proposed Legislative Assembly

The President of the Constitutional Reforms Conference, Mr. Galancy did not feel it desirable to propose an unwieldy Assembly.¹⁵ It was, therefore, proposed that one member should represent one lakh of population. On this basis thirty-three members were proposed to be directly elected by the people, including the people of Ladakh and Gilgit. The election to the Legislative Assembly was proposed to be held on communal lines because joint electorate was thought to be a dangerous experiment. The principle of weightage was adopted to safeguard the interests of the minority communities. No reservation of seats was proposed for the depressed classes. On these bases the number of elected seats proposed was to be distributed in the following manner :

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of Province</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Buddhists</i>	<i>Sikhs</i>
1.	Jammu	7	7	—	1
2.	Kashmir	11	4	—	—
3.	Frontier Areas	2	—	1	—
		— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
	Total	20	11	1	1
		— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —

Nominated Members

There was a wide difference of opinion among the members of the Constitutional Reforms Conference with regard to the strength of the nominated members in the proposed Assembly. Ultimately it was provided that two-thirds of the elected members should be nominated to the Assembly. In addition to this, the Maharaja was authorised to appoint five Ministers as ex-officio members of the Assembly. The total strength of the proposed Legislative Assembly was to be not more than sixty members which included thirty-three elected members, twenty-two nominated members and five Ministers. The principle of nomination was proposed to apply to those interests which were not catered for the elected membership. Jagirdars, Zaildars and

commercial as well as other vested interests came under this category.¹⁶

Powers of the Proposed Assembly

In matters of legislation, it was proposed that all Government Bills except those which related to reserved subjects and foreign relations should be referred to the Assembly for ratification. With regard to the private Bills, it was proposed that no such Bill should relate to any reserved subject, or involve the imposition or increase or reduction of any new tax or old tax without the previous sanction of His Highness; that such a Bill should not affect the religious rites, usages, endowments or personal law of any community. Such a Bill could be introduced only if it was supported by two-thirds of the elected members of that community and had obtained the previous sanction of His Highness. No private bill intending to affect the rights granted to Jagirdars and *Pattadars*¹⁷ in their *Sanads*¹⁸ and *Pattas* could be introduced in the Assembly without the previous sanction of His Highness. Full powers were given to the ruler to make and promulgate ordinances during emergency. The ruler was also authorised to pass a Bill which was declined by the Assembly.¹⁹

Financial Powers

The proposed Assembly was given the right to discuss budget and the grant of monopolies, to ask questions and make suggestions with regard to matters relating to taxation. But the reserved part of the budget was excluded from being discussed by the Assembly.²⁰

Franchise

Ten per cent of the total population was recommended to be enfranchised by the Constitutional Reforms Conference. It was said that this percentage was frequently adopted as a working rule in the British India. Accordingly, all those persons who paid an annual land-revenue of twenty rupees, or who posses-

sed an immoveable property of one thousand rupees in value, or who belonged to a learned profession such as judiciary or medicine, or who were retired Government servants receiving a monthly pension of not less than twenty-five rupees or who were title holders, *Zaildars*, *Lambardars*, *Safaid-poshes*²¹, *Jagirdars*, and *Pattadars*, enjoying an assignment of not less than fifty rupees per month, or who had passed the Matriculation examination, or a corresponding vernacular examination, were proposed to be enfranchised. The same qualifications were recommended for those persons who wanted to contest election to the Legislative Assembly.²²

The Constitutional Reforms Conference also made a recommendation, suggesting to the ruler to appoint a Franchise Committee for purposes of examining the franchise qualifications of the voters.

Franchise Committee

On May 31, 1932 the Maharaja appointed a Franchise Committee which consisted of four members including Sir Barjor Dalal as its President. When the Vice-President of the Franchise Committee, Mr. L.W. Jardine was recalled by the Government of India, Sir Ivo Elliot, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service with a wider knowledge of Franchise Problems, was appointed the Franchise Officer on March 24, 1932. The Franchise Committee was authorised to collect statistics, conduct interviews and receive representations.²³

During the course of examining the witnesses, different opinions were expressed by various communities and interests with regard to the composition of the Assembly, qualification of the voters and the powers of the Assembly.

Non-Muslims' Opinion on the Composition of the Assembly

During the course of examining the witnesses, the non-Muslims generally favoured an Assembly having a total strength of sixty members. The Hindu Maha Sabha, Jammu, suggested that the Assembly should have forty elected and twenty nominated members including five Ministers. It also favoured a special

representation for Rajputs because of their historical importance and because of being a ruling race of the State.²⁴ Besides, it was in favour of the non-Muslim majority in the Assembly.

The Hindu Yuvak Sabha of Kashmiri Pandits suggested that more than half of the nominated seats should be allotted to the non-Muslims.²⁵ Similar suggestions were made by other influential leading Hindus also.²⁶

Non-Muslims on Franchise

With regard to the problem of Franchise, the Hindu Maha Sabha regarded the ten per cent enfranchisement as absolutely unnecessary. On the contrary, it suggested that the question of enfranchisement should be decided on the basis of the qualifications of a voter. The Hindu Yuvak Sabha favoured only five per cent of the total population to be enfranchised. It opposed the idea of adult suffrage on the ground of the general as well as educational backwardness of the people.²⁷

As for the property qualifications, the Hindu Maha Sabha pleaded the right of vote for all those persons who either paid an annual land revenue of twenty rupees, or possessed an immoveable property of one thousand rupees, in value in Municipal towns and Notified Areas, and four hundred rupees in villages. The possession by a joint family of five members of immoveable property worth two thousand and five thousand rupees in villages and cities respectively, entitled all the members of such a joint family to vote.²⁸

The Hindu Yuvak Sabha argued that all those persons who either paid fifteen rupees as rent, or a pensioner in receipt of a monthly pension of ten rupees either from the State Government or from the Government of India, or the State subjects drawing pension either from the regular army of the State or from the British army, or payer of a Municipal tax amounting to fifty rupees per annum, or the State-subject title-holders either from the State or from the Government of India, or *Zaildars*, *Lambardars*, *Safaid-poshes*, *Jagirdars*, *Pattadars* and *Guzarkhans* enjoying a rent-free estate worth not less than twenty rupees a year, or the State subjects or domiciled persons in the State who were combatants in

actual employ or on pension either in the State or Government of India, should be given right to vote.²⁹

With regard to educational qualifications, the non-Muslims generally favoured the right of vote to all those persons who had either passed the Matriculation examination or some equivalent corresponding examination of vernacular standards. They also wanted to enfranchise any person who knew the reading and writing of one of the four languages, that is, Hindi, Urdu, Gurmukhi and Dogri. None of the witnesses including the Muslims, were in favour of the Kashmiri language. The Muslims were in favour of the right of vote for all those persons who had passed the primary examination.³⁰

The non-Muslims did not agree with the enfranchisement of Bakrwals (shepherds of goats). However, the Hindu Maha Sabha suggested that only those Bakrwals should be enfranchised who were permanently settled and paid an annual land revenue of twenty rupees.

There were three categories of State subjects, namely, Class one, Class Two and Class Three State subjects in the Jammu and Kashmir State. The native Hindus were in favour of giving the right of vote to all State subjects but it was only Class One State subject whom they wanted to contest elections for the Assembly. The non-Muslim-non-State-subjects of Class Three category did not accept these views of the native Hindus. They demanded a separate representation in the Assembly because of their numerical weakness in the State.³¹

So far as the Frontier areas were concerned, the Hindu Maha Sabha did not think it necessary to enfranchise the people of Ladakh and Gilgit. The Hindu Yuvak Sabha favoured the representation of these areas by nomination. The Muslims were in favour of direct representation of the people of the Frontier areas.

Recommendations of the Franchise Committee

The Franchise Committee submitted its report after more than two years' labour and recommended the following qualifications which entitled a person to vote:³²

Zaildars, Safaid-poshes, Imam of mosque, Mufti (an expounder

of Muslim law), Qazi (Muslim Judge), *Adhishtata* (Ruler, protector or Governor of a temple), *Granthi* (preacher of the sacred book of Sikhs) of Gurudwara, an ordained Minister of a Christian Church, a recognised title-holder, a pensioned officer, non-commissioned officer, soldier of His Highness' regular army, a pensioner in receipt of a monthly pension of ten rupees from the State, Doctor, *Hakim*, *Vaid*, lawyer, school master, Matriculate or *Munshi* or *Moulvi* or *Prajna* or any higher degree, the owner of land, paying an annual land revenue of not less than twenty rupees, a tenant paying an annual rent of not less than twenty rupees, the owner of immoveable property worth six hundred rupees, a person paying an annual grazing fee to the Government to the tune of twenty rupees and not a Bakrwal, *Ilaqadar*, *Jagirdar*, *Muafidar*, *Guzar-khan* holding an annual assignment of not less than twenty rupees in value.

Changes Made by Franchise Committee to the Proposed Scheme of Constitution Recommended by the Constitutional Reforms Conference

Many changes were made in the original report regarding the constitutional scheme as proposed by the Constitutional Reforms Conference by the Franchise Committee. The Franchise Committee did not agree with Mr. Galancy on the enfranchisement of ten per cent of the population. The Franchise Committee thought it "entirely against the constitutional history...and to think in terms of adult suffrage in a country which has never yet had any widespread electoral system."²³ The Committee did not form constituencies but it turned the physical divisions of the State into constituencies, making each division a single member constituency. Some constituencies were so devised as to provide an extra elected member for a larger group and a nominated member for a smaller group of minorities or majority as might be the case.

With regard to the frontier areas of Ladakh and Gilgit, the Constitutional Reforms Conference had recommended the direct election of two Muslim and one Buddhist members. The Franchise Committee rejected the direct election in those areas

on the ground of their physical difficulties.³⁴ Therefore, the principle of nomination was recommended for Ladakh and Gilgit, giving them three Muslim and two Buddhist seats in the Assembly.

The jurisdictional jagirs of Poonch and Chenani which had not even been considered by Mr. Galancy for franchise were recommended two Muslim seats by election and two Hindu seats by nomination. One official nominated by Ilaqadar of Chenani was also recommended by the Committee.

Tremendous changes were made by the Franchise Committee to Mr. Galancy's scheme of constitution. Whereas Mr. Galancy had recommended twenty-seven nominated members including five Ministers, the Franchise Committee recommended a Legislative Assembly of seventy-five members of which thirty-three were to be elected and forty-two nominated (the latter included thirty nominated non-official and twelve official members). The principle of nomination was to be applied to both Muslims and non-Muslims, Hindu depressed classes, labour interests and commercial groups.

Criticism

The report containing recommendations of the Franchise Committee satisfied neither the Muslim nor the non-Muslim subjects of His Highness. The native Hindus complained that the report had enslaved them to the majority of Muslim members in the Assembly. The Muslims criticised the Franchise Committee for having given "undue weight to arbitrary fixed constituencies and relegate numerical and other facts that alone do weigh with the authors of the constitutional law, to a secondary position".³⁵ They added that by enhancing a few seats for Muslims in the Assembly, the Franchise Committee had failed to satisfy the people in general and the Muslims in particular.

Rejecting the criticism levelled against the Franchise Committee, Mr. Sir Ivo Elliot justified the work of the Committee in the following words:³⁶

"... We have recognised the preponderance of the Muslims. Leaving out the official members there will be 32 Muslim members and 25 Hindus with four Sikhs and two Buddhists; should these choose to join the Hindus, they cannot outvote them; but if

their policy does not antagonise the Sikhs and Buddhists they can secure an absolute majority without winning the support of some other sections. A majority requires 38 votes; the Hindus with the officials added can only have³⁷".

The justification given by Sir Elliot was not based on reason. There was nothing new in the constitutional scheme which the authors of the two reports had proposed for the State. The authors of the reports were Englishmen and were well acquainted with the working of the Constitutions and the legislatures based more or less on similar principles in British Indian Provinces. In British Indian Provinces the nominated members had almost always sided with the Government against the popular wishes as "they (the legislatures) were not properly representative of the whole population; the official and nominated members—who generally voted with the Government—lent a colour of unreality to the proceedings of the Councils."^{37a} The proposed Assembly was bound to prove no exception in the Jammu and Kashmir State to this British Indian practice. The Franchise Committee greatly whittled down what little recommendations Mr. Galancy had suggested. Thus in proposed Assembly the recommendations for an elected majority was replaced by an official majority.

Besides, the, Franchise Committee's recommendations were unsound and defective. By providing the qualifications for the electors, it only enfranchised "not more than three per cent of the population".³⁸ By applying the principle of nomination to the Frontier areas of Ladakh and Gilgit, the Committee denied the democratic right to the people of these areas. The principle of nomination was bound to help the growth of reactionary forces in the Assembly. Similarly, a vast majority of Bakrwals was deprived of the vote mainly because they were nomadic tribes. As the bulk of the Bakrwals constituted a part of the Muslim population, their disfranchisement caused a great resentment among Muslims. Again, the denial of a direct vote to labourers, peasants, commercial and trading interests was another glaring defect of the Franchise report. The changes made were taken very seriously by the political leaders. Voicing the feelings of the country, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah issued a statement on January 29, 1934, saying:³⁹

"The people of this country did not spill their blood for such a mock-show. Sir J.B. Galancy though not agreeing with the legitimate aspirations of the Muslims had recommended an elected majority in the proposed Assembly in unambiguous terms. It was no business of the Franchise Committee to turn down this recommendation. What hopes can the people of this country have in this kind of Assembly where the dead weight of the official and nominated majority will always be ready to crush the popular voice."

In 1934, the Durbar with scant regard for the popular voice gave a constitution in the form of the Jammu and Kashmir Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat on the basis of the recommendations of the Constitutional Reforms Conference and the Franchise Committee.

The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, 1934

On April 19, 1934 the Maharaja announced that his intention was "to provide for the association of my subjects in the matter of legislation and the administration of the State".⁴⁰ After having accepted many recommendations of Mr. Galancy's report and the Franchise Committee's report a Legislative Assembly under the Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat was given to the people with effect from the date of its declaration by the ruler. The first General Election was held on September 3, 1934. The Assembly was inaugurated by His Highness on October 17, 1934.

Composition of the Legislative Assembly

The Legislative Assembly was composed of seventy-five members. Of these thirty-three were elected including twenty-one Muslims, ten Hindus and two Sikhs. The other forty-two were nominated members of whom fourteen were nominated non-officials. The Legislature consisted of the Council of Ministers and the Legislative Assembly. The normal life of the Assembly was fixed at three years but it could be extended by the ruler or dissolved by him earlier. The power to prorogue and summon the

Assembly into session was vested with the ruler.⁴¹ But the power to adjourn the Assembly lay with the President of the Assembly whose appointment to and removal from the office was vested with the ruler for the first four years after which period the Assembly could elect its own President with the approval of the ruler.⁴²

Powers of the Assembly

The Assembly was given limited powers in the sphere of law-making. These powers fell under four heads: Legislative, Interrogatory, Deliberative and Financial.

Legislative Powers

The legislative powers of the Assembly extended to the making of laws for all persons, places, courts and things within the State. A Bill passed by the Council and the Assembly could become a law only after it was signed by the ruler.⁴³ No Bill dealing with the following reserved subjects could be introduced in the Legislature:⁴⁴

- (i) Relations, treaties, conventions or agreements between the State and His Majesty the King Emperor of India, or between the State and the Government of India or with Foreign Powers or any native State;
- (ii) His Highness or any member of the Royal Family or the management of their household;
- (iii) Matters concerning with Ladakh and Gilgit frontiers;
- (iv) Rights of *Jagirdars* or *Ilaqadars* which were granted to them by Sanads;
- (v) The organisation, discipline and control of the State army;
- (vi) The *Dharmarth* Department and State Department under the charge of Minister-in-Waiting; and
- (vii) The provisions of the Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat and the rules made thereunder and their repeal or modification.

The Assembly had no power to make, repeal or alter any regulation made through an ordinance during emergency or where the legislation was required in any matter affecting peace and good government of the State.⁴⁶ It was also unlawful for the Assembly to enact any measure which calculated to impose any disability on any community.⁴⁶ No Bill intending to affect the religious rites, usages, endowments and personal law of any community could be introduced, considered or enacted unless previous permission of His Highness and the consent of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Assembly from the community which was likely to be affected by the Bill was sought by the mover of the Bill.⁴⁷

Legislative Powers of His Highness

His Highness was vested with the overriding powers in the sphere of law-making. He had retained his prerogatives in many directions. All powers—Executive, Legislative and Judicial—were inherently retained by him. Nothing which was contained in the Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat could affect or could be deemed to have affected the right and prerogative, proclamations and ordinances by virtue of his inherent authority.⁴⁸ Under Sections 29 and 31 of the Regulation Act 1991 Samvat the ruler was empowered to exercise veto power over the legislation. Thus when a Bill was introduced or any amendment to a Bill was moved or any resolution was moved or proposed to be moved or any question asked or proposed to be asked, the ruler could veto the same maintaining that it was not in the interest of the State to do so. He could even stop the proceedings of any Bill for the reason that the Bill was likely to affect safety and tranquillity of the State or any part thereof.

If the Assembly refused leave to introduce any regulations or pass in the form recommended by the Council of Ministers any regulation, the ruler could give assent to the regulation against the wishes of the Assembly on ground that the regulation was essential for the good Government, safety and tranquillity of the State. Such a Bill would become a law as if it had been passed by the Assembly.

Deliberative Powers

The deliberative powers of the Assembly extended to the moving of resolutions, motions of adjournment and asking of questions. Rules were made under the Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat for the discussion of matters of general interest in the Assembly. No discussion was permissible if it reflected upon His Highness or the matters placed under the reserved subjects or a Judge of High Court or any matter which was subjudice. In all other matters the members enjoyed complete freedom of speech. No member was liable to any proceedings in any court of law for what he had spoken or voted in the Assembly.⁴⁹

Resolutions

Every resolution was required to be in the form of a specific recommendation addressed to the President of the Assembly. A resolution was also required to be clear and precise, raising a definite issue and not containing arguments, inferences, ironical expressions, defamatory statements and references to the conduct or character of any person except in his official or public capacity.⁵⁰ Any resolution could be disallowed by the President without assigning any reason other than that in his opinion the resolution or a part thereof did not comply with the rules.⁵¹

Questions

The members had the right to ask questions of the Executive. But this right was subject to various restrictions. Questions were required to be so framed as to provide information. Any question containing arguments, inferences, ironical expressions and defamatory statements was not possible. Questions asking for an expression of opinion or the solution of a hypothetical proposition were not admissible under rules.⁵² The President of the Assembly might disallow any question if in his opinion it was contrary to the rules. Any member could ask supplementary question for further elucidation of any matter of fact regarding which request for information had been made in his original question. Supplementary questions could be disallo-

wed by the President if in his opinion they infringed the rules or standing orders.⁵³

Motions for Adjournment

Motions of adjournment is a means for raising a debate upon a question of urgent public importance. This has been accepted as a rule in all parliamentary democracies. The rules made under the Legislative Assembly provided that leave to make a motion of adjournment for purposes of discussing a resolution on a definite matter of public importance could be asked after Question hour and before the business of the day was entered upon.⁵⁴ Leave to move a motion for adjournment was permissible only if twenty members or more were in favour of it.⁵⁵

Financial Powers

The budget was laid before the Assembly in the month of October or in any of the subsequent months if the Assembly could not meet on due date.⁵⁶ The members were free to discuss budget and to move any resolution to it. They could also ask questions. The Finance Minister of the State had to reply to any remark or suggestion made by a member. But no member could discuss or move resolutions or ask question with regard to the expenditure which was obligatory under law, such as pensions and gratuities granted by His Highness, interest on loans and Sinking Fund Charges and the expenditure which was classified as political.⁵⁷ If a question arose whether any proposed appropriation of revenues or moneys related to or did not relate to any matter not liable to be voted upon by the Assembly, the decision of the President on such issues was final.⁵⁸ A proposal or a resolution for appropriation of any revenues or moneys could be moved only on the recommendations of the Executive. Any measure which was likely to affect public revenues could not be introduced by a member without the previous sanction of the Council of Ministers.⁵⁹

The Constitution and the Assembly given under the Regulation Act of 1991 Sanvat, did not prove up to the expectations of the people. Their unsatisfactory character and im-

perfect operation within the first five months of their existence made the elected members convinced that "the way in which the popular demands, even when supported by all the representatives really elected by the people...is highly discouraging and has disillusioned many a conservative politician in the past".⁶⁰ The elected representatives, both Muslims and non-Muslims, were disenchanted with the Constitution and they felt the need for a fresh constitutional change in the State. This feeling gave rise to a joint action for the demand of a responsible Government in the State.

Assembly Elections (1934-1938)

Elections to the Legislative Assembly were held three times, including one by-election, from 1934 to 1940. The first election took place on Monday, the 3rd of September, 1934. The election was a landmark in the political history of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State. The main contesting political parties in the field were the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the Azad Party Muslim Conference of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, the Yuvak Sabha of the Kashmiri Pandits, the Hindu Maha Sabha of Jammu Province and some other independent candidates. The candidates had to submit their nomination papers along-with a security deposit of rupees one hundred and fifty to the Returning Officers of their concerned constituencies upto May 12, 1934. By the end of May, the list of the candidates whose nomination papers were found correct and declared eligible to contest the election was announced to the public. An interval of three months was given to the candidates, affording them sufficient time to acquaint themselves with the constituencies and carry on their election-campaign.

Election Campaign

On the 4th of May, 1934, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, under crucial circumstances,, took finally the decision to fight the elections. The Conference was faced with certain acute problems. The most difficult, among them, was

the problem of conducting the campaign which needed a number of selfless and devoted workers for canvassing, speaking and other incidental work. In view of the fact that most of the leaders and other experienced workers were still in prisons, the launching of election campaign posed a difficult task for the Conference. The Conference was faced with the financial crisis also.⁶¹ Despite these difficulties the Conference organised teams of available workers having capacity to make the campaign a success and deputed them to the different parts of the valley where they acquainted the electorate with the programme and instructions of the party. The campaign was carried on by means of canvassing, meetings, processions, speeches, slogans, handbills, posters, persuasion and door to door advocacy. The most important means of campaigning was the election tours undertaken by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who had by this time become the charismatic leader of Kashmir Muslim. Besides, the official organ of the Muslim Conference, "*the Sadaqat*" played an important role in the conduct of the election campaign. Since no election manifesto was published by the party, the instructions were conveyed to the party units in villages, towns and cities through the columns of *the Sadaqat*. It also gave wide publicity to the speeches delivered by the Sheikh and his political colleagues for the information of the electorate. The *Sadaqat*, thus, performed the role of party manifesto. The election campaign conducted by the Azad Muslim Conference Party was not as effective and organised as that of the Muslim Conference. It lacked the capacity, and ability to organise itself against its rival party, the Muslim Conference.

The election campaign conducted by the non-Muslims consisted nearly the similar methods as those used by the Muslims.

Polling and Results

The polling took place on the 3rd of September, 1934. The State including Poonch was divided into 33 constituencies, having elected representatives. Of these, 23 constituencies were assigned to the rural areas and ten to the cities of Srinagar and Jammu. There were 176 polling-booths in all. Out of these, 32 booths were fixed for the city of Srinagar and 6 for

the Jammu city. The remaining 138 polling stations were assigned to the rural areas. For casting the vote, the Lothian Committee Scheme of Coloured Boxes was introduced. Under this scheme a voter, whether literate or an illiterate, was not required to make any mark on the ballot paper against the name of the candidate for whom the voter wished to vote. The voter was simply required to place the ballot paper in secret in a box marked with a definite colour which had been assigned to a particular candidate or a party.

The results of the election were announced on September 4, 1934. Out of the total 33 elected seats, 11 candidates, both Muslims and non-Muslims, were returned unopposed from eleven constituencies. In the remaining 22 constituencies the number of rival candidates varied from six to two in each constituency. So far as the Muslim constituencies were concerned, out of 21 seats nine were nominees of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. All the seats for Srinagar city were won by the Conference. The Azad Party of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah did not get a single seat. Of remaining twelve, one went to a *Jagirdar* three seats to *Zaildars* and two to Pensioners. Six seats were won by non-party men belonging either to business or zamindar classes,⁶² who had the support of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. A sharp contest between the Muslim Conference and the Azad Party Muslim Conference marked a special feature of the polling day in two of the polling constituencies of Srinagar city where crushing defeat was inflicted on the Azad Party's candidates. The overwhelming victory of the Muslim Conference confirmed its popularity among the Muslim masses.

The non-Muslims had been allotted twelve elected seats including the two seats for the Sikh community. Besides the independent candidates, the parties which contested elections were Sanatan Dharm of Young Men's Association (Yuvak Sabha) of Kashmir Province and the Hindu Maha Sabha of Jammu Province. Of the 12 seats allotted to the non-Muslims, the Sanatan Dharm bagged all the 3 seats it had contested; the Hindu Maha Sabha won 5 out of 7 it had contested and 4 candidates were returned unopposed⁶³ including two Sikhs.

By-election 1937

The first by-election to the Legislative Assembly took place in 1937. It so happened that in October 1936, Sardar Budh Singh tendered resignation from his membership. His action was immediately followed by all the elected members of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, except Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil. Following the acceptance of these resignations, the Government announced that the by-elections would take place in July, 1937.

The Muslim Conference did not make any change in the selection of candidates this time. It put all the ex-representatives in the field. As a result of the elections all but two candidates of the Conference were returned unopposed. The remaining two candidates had a tough fight in Muzaffarabad and Kathua constituencies where the Conference defeated its rivals so miserably that even the security of the defeated candidates was forfeited.⁶⁴ Thus the Conference succeeded in maintaining its strength in the Assembly. Sardar Budh Singh, however, had decided not to contest the election and in his place the Sikh community returned Sardar Dhyani Singh unopposed.

Second Assembly Election 1938

By the time the second election took place on May 30, 1938, many changes had taken place in the politics of Kashmir. The two previous elections including the by-election had given an ample training and experience to the people in operating the electoral system. They had understood the importance as well as the value of the vote, and also of the institutions related to it. The second election was a matter of great importance for the Muslim Conference in the light of the new trends which the politics had been showing for last few years. The most important change which the leaders of the Conference had been thinking of was with regard to getting their parent organization, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, transformed into a secular body so that its doors could be thrown open to non-Muslims in order to conduct the freedom movement on nationa-

listic lines. This consideration weighed heavily on the minds of the Conference's leadership in the selection of its candidates at that time. Naturally it led to the change in the method of selecting the candidates. A new method was, therefore, devised. According to it, applications were invited from the best and deserving political workers for securing the party's nomination. Dozens of applications were received at the party Headquarters at Mujahid Manzil. These applications were examined, scrutinized and carefully considered by the Provincial Election Board. On April 20, 1938, the Board announced the nomination of five members for the city constituencies of Srinagar. The rest of the candidates were given nomination by the Central Election Board of the Conference. In all twenty candidates were given party tickets. Many new faces replaced the old ones. Among the new faces were Moulvi Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, Hafiz-Ullah (advocate), Sofi Mohammad Akbar of Sopore, Khwaja Ghulam Nabi of Anantnag, Qazi Abdul Gani of Delna, Allah Rakha Sagar of Jammu and Mohammad Khalil Kitchloo of Kishtwar—all of them being promising and conscious figures.⁶⁵

The results of the election were announced on June 1, 1938. The Muslim Conference won nineteen out of twenty Muslim seats it had contested. It had lost one seat because the form of one of its candidates had been rejected at the time of scrutiny due to some minor error of corrective nature made by the candidate at the time of filling up the form. More than half of the constituencies had returned their candidates unopposed. In the constituencies where their candidates were faced with cut-throat contest with those candidates who stood as independent candidates after they had failed to get the party tickets, the conference completely routed them, and the Muslim Conference continued as before to have its monopoly over the popular benches of the Assembly. The Azad Party Muslim Conference had not even mustered the courage to stand for the contest against the Muslim Conference led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The election results reconfirmed the established mass basis of the Conference among the Muslims.

Non-Muslims and the Second Assembly Elections

Two well-knit political organisations of the non-Muslims, one the Sanatan Dharm Yuvak Sabha of the Kashmiri Pandits and the other Hindu-Sikh Naujawan Sabha of Jammu Province, besides independent candidates, were in the field. The Yuvak Sabha had contested three seats. One of its candidates, Pandit Amar Nath Kak was returned unopposed. The real contest was in the two constituencies, one in the city constituency of Srinagar where the contest was between the President of the Yuvak Sabha, Pandit Sheo Narain Fotedar and an ex-representative of the Sabha, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam who was an independent candidate, and the other in the north Kashmir Constituency where the contest was between Pandit Dev Koul, an independent candidate with reactionary outlook belonging to the vested interest of landlord class, and Pandit Damodar Bhutt (Hanjura), a youngman with progressive leanings, who was the nominee of the Yuvak Sabha.

The result of the city constituency of Srinagar was in favour of the Yuvak Sabha candidate. His success was due to the role played by the conservative elements who had still a dominant position in the Sabha. Besides, factionalism and groupism which had crept into Hindu body politic in Kashmir was eroding the Sabha from within. It had an adverse impact on the election of the Sabha's candidate in North Kashmir Constituency where the election took place on a little later date than in the city constituency of Srinagar. In order to take revenge on Yuvak Sabha for his defeat in the election, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam extended his support to Dev Koul against the Yuvak Sabha's candidate. Pandit Kilam went personally to the north Kashmir Constituency where he canvassed in favour of Pandit Dev Koul. In fact Yuvak Sabha's defeat in the north Kashmir Constituency was to a large extent due to the role played by Pandit Kilam.

Evaluation

A careful study of the elections held to the State Legislative Assembly within a period of four years from 1934 to 1938 would

reveal that communal politics reigned supreme both among the Muslim and the non-Muslim communities. Both of them exploited religion for catching the vote. No political party, whether the Muslim or the non-Muslim, seemed to have attained political maturity and democratic consciousness. None of them had also performed a truly educative role in informing the people of its programmes and policies. Each political party had, on the other hand, faithfully followed the system of separate electorate as provided under the Act giving them a free licence to indulge in communal politics. Here the religion played its decisive role in determining the voter's choice and preference. Religion was exploited not only by one community against the other but also by the same community against its own coreligionists. This trend was markedly in sight among the Muslims of Kashmir. For example, the first election saw the two Muslim rival parties, the Muslim Conference and the Azad Party Muslim Conference, crucially pitched against each other. The most surprising thing seen was the way two parties exploited religious sentiments of the voters, relegating the real issues relating to socio-economic problems of the people to the background. The behaviour of the contesting parties became so untoward that the fight for vote had become virtually a war between believers and non-believers or what has been termed a "war between Islam and Kufur (infidelity)".⁶⁶ Even the Ballot Box was religionised by the Azad Party. While making appeals to the electorate for vote, the Azad party denounced the Muslim Conference as an organization of unbelievers. It compared the Ballot Box of black colour which was allotted to its candidates to the Hajarul Aswad (the black stone of the Kaba in Mecca) and called upon the Muslim electorate that it was a sacred duty on their part to cast their votes in the black coloured boxes. The black coloured boxes were, however, contrarily compared, by the Muslim Conference, to a black-faced man, an evil, a man of disgrace, and therefore, a betrayer. The white coloured ballot box which was allotted to the Muslim Conference was compared by the party to a man of enlightenment blessed with the grace of Allah and a man of honour and belief.⁶⁷ This sort of political behaviour had reduced both the electioneering and religion to a mere trifling.

Similar trend was visible among the non-Muslims. Thus religion and reaction went together. The fact is that both the Muslims and non-Muslims exhibited the height of communal character of their political career. This state of affairs was not conducive to the growth and development of a sound political system which both the communities had pledged, in their own way, to evolve in the State.

During the second election held in 1938, one could find no substantial change in the voting behaviour exhibited by both the communities in their campaigns and canvassing. The same old methods were repeated and religion was inextricably mixed with it.

However, there was surely a new development in sight in the politics of non-Muslims. The factionalism and groupism which had divided the Yuvak Sabha from within its organization was freely exploited by the conservative elements more in their own personal interests rather than in the interests of their community as a whole. This development was responsible for the rise of personality cult in the Pandit politics. That is why the erstwhile unity of thought and deed among them was absent during the second election. The Yuvak Sabha proved abundantly "a reactionary party and a centre of communalism. To support the reactionary elements became its duty and Dharma".⁶⁶ Similarly the Sikh and Hindu Naujawan Sabha in Jammu province was not immune from communalism.

But all did not go wrong with the Assembly elections. One of the purposes and functions of the party system is to impart political education to the electorate. In this sense the role of political parties in modern States have assumed gigantic dimensions, especially in a representative form of Government. This makes the holding of elections still more important in the life of a nation. The elections in Jammu and Kashmir State during the period under study were not only important but also instructive in that their conduct and operation imbibed the hitherto ignorant and illiterate people who had only seen irresponsible and autocratic Governments for decades together, with a spirit of self-assertion. Since the political role of the Muslim Conference helped the evolution of an organised party system, the elections generated atmosphere of political awakening among

the masses. The casting of vote gave a sense to the people that power rested with them. The party whatever its form or ideology, became the centre of political activity of the masses. The main contribution of the vote to freedom movement in Kashmir was that it made the people understand that the power of ballot could secure to them a political system based on democratic principles as against the forces of autocracy and despotism. Whatever the means employed for the achievement of this goal were of lesser importance than the goal itself. This had already been experimented and was still in operation in British India where even the most secular political organizations exploited religion, caste and regionalism for purposes of securing power. The Jammu and Kashmir State could be no exception to this process.

Struggle for Responsible Government

The struggle for the achievement of a responsible Government was the crux of the freedom movement in Kashmir. The idea of responsible Government in the Indian native States had its origin in the famous annual session of the Indian National Congress held at the banks of River Ravi, near Lahore on December 31, 1929, where Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rejected the offer of "Dominion Status" for India describing it merely as a "Snare". Declaring nothing less than complete independence to be the goal of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:⁶⁹

"...Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom, I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world cooperation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member...India could never be an equal member of Commonwealth unless imperialism and all that it implies is discarded."

Besides, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru "condemned British imperialism, Kings and Princes".⁷⁰ The ruling Princes of Indian States

were asked to extend the benefits of responsible Government to the people.

The demand for the establishment of a responsible Government in Jammu and Kashmir State made for the first time by radical Muslim Youngmen in 1934 assumed gigantic importance in 1935 when a protest against the dissatisfactory character of the Legislative Assembly was launched by the popular representatives. On March 29, 1935, twenty-nine elected members excluding the elected representatives of Kashmiri Pandit community presented a joint memorandum to the Government, requesting it to change the Constitution in such a way as to make the executive responsible to the Legislature.⁷¹ The memorandum declared that the Constitution did not even fulfil His Highness' own desire according to which people were to be associated with the administration of the State.

The Kashmiri Pandit members of the Assembly did not sign the memorandum for the reason that the establishment of a responsible Government in the State would mean the replacement of Hindu Raj by the Muslim rule.⁷² The Liberal Group of the Hindu elected members signed the memorandum on the condition that in the event of the responsible Government being established in the State the minority safeguards would be fully considered.⁷³

The Government did not respond to the memorandum. The Working Committee of the Muslim Conference met on February 7, 1936 and passed a resolution asking the people to observe Responsible Government Day throughout the State. The resolution also demanded a new Constitution and an Assembly in which it was not "easy for the Government to crush the people's resolutions under foot".⁷⁴ In March the Working Committee of the Muslims Conference Party again met at Jammu in order to review the work of its own party in the Assembly. The Working Committee had come to the conclusion that the Assembly established under law had caused the straining of relations between the ruler and the ruled.⁷⁵ The following resolutions were passed by the Muslim Conference Working Committee:⁷⁶

- (i) To observe Responsible Government Day on May 8, 1936.
- (ii) To make an appeal to the non-Muslims for extending their support to the movement and also to invite them to join the movement for the achievement of responsible Government.

Accordingly Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah issued an appeal to all the non-Muslim countrymen, inviting them to participate in the movement for responsible Government. Except for a few progressive Hindus, the non-Muslims in general did not respond to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's call. Instead they opposed the movement on the basis of the fear of insecurity. They followed the example of the minorities in the British India, where the fear of insecurity under majority rule had propelled them to "a sense of insecurity and apprehension that justice as a democratic postulate was hardly to be realised under a mere majority rule under Indian conditions".⁷⁷ The distrust for responsible Government was coupled with a conflict of motives. On the one hand the non-Muslims in the State were inclined towards the Congress movement, and, on the other hand, they showed reactionarian attitude to the movement for responsible Government which the Muslims had initiated and was, more or less, in consonance with the Congress programme and ideology. Like the minorities in British India, the non-Muslims in Kashmir were not in favour of the movement unless and until they were given assurance by the majority of the population that the minority safeguards were guaranteed to them in any future constitutional scheme. Many times this guarantee was offered to them. But they were not convinced by mere words and promises. The Kashmiri Pandits, barring a few, played a leading role in opposing the movement for responsible Government. They went even to the extent of suggesting to all minority groups in the State to unite and organise an All Jammu and Kashmir Hindu Conference for fighting their political and other demands separately.⁷⁸ Even the responsible members of their community opposed the introduction of responsible Government in the State by doubting its utility. Shri Shiv Narain Nanda, a member of Legislative Assembly,

declared that since the Assembly had proved useless for the Hindus, the demand for responsible Government would also be useless.⁷⁹

Safeguards

The question of safeguards and minority rights was raised by the non-Muslims on many occasions. The Muslim leaders asked them to present a list of the demands which constituted their rights and safeguards. But no political organisation of the non-Muslims could present any safeguards or rights. However, it was only a Pandit leader, Shri Jia Lal Kilam who in his individual capacity issued the following fourteen points which, according to him, constituted the minority safeguards:⁸⁰

- (1) Adequate protection should be guaranteed to the religion and religious places of the minorities.
- (2) Adequate protection should be guaranteed to the languages and culture of the minorities.
- (3) Subject to the general laws of the land freedom to carry out religious processions and freedom to observe religious rites should be guaranteed to all. Nobody should be subjected to any disability or disqualification for his religious beliefs.
- (4) Merit and competition should be the sole test for recruitment to Government posts provided that for a limited number of years one-fourth of such posts may be kept reserved for backward classes belonging to various communities in case they fail to get a share in open competition.
- (5) An impartial Public Service Recruitment Board should be constituted for making appointments to Government posts.
- (6) All Government scholarships should be open to competition irrespective of creed or caste, provided that for a limited number of years one-fourth of such scholarships should be kept reserved for the backward classes belonging to various communities in case they fail to get a share in open competition.

- (7) The minorities should be free to run denominational institutions and they should be held entitled to all sorts of grants-in-aid.
- (8) Nationals belonging to minorities should be free to follow any legitimate calling. No restrictions should be placed on their way to take any legitimate profession as they choose.
- (9) No Bill or measure should be introduced in the legislature if it seeks to affect the religious usages, customs, religious endowments or spiritual laws of community so long as it is not supported by four-fifths of the members of the said community.
- (10) No Bill or measure should be introduced in the legislature which seeks to impose a disability upon any community.
- (11) Two-fifths of the elected seats in the legislature should be kept reserved for the minorities...
- (12) The election should be held on the basis of joint electorates provided that for a fixed period of time electoral colleges be constituted for minorities to nominate their own candidates for reserved seats. Such candidates will alone have the right to stand on behalf of that community to contest reserved seats.
- (13) A convention should be established that not less than one-half of the State Ministers should be recruited from the minorities.
- (14) All State aid or help in the shape of taqaws etc. and Government honours, etc., should be distributed on the merit of each case without reference to any communal considerations.

The demand for minority safeguards was an attempt on the part of the non-Muslims to foil the rising tide of the democratic process. The tendency to demand safeguards was in fact encouraged by the British rulers in India with a view to endearing the Muslims and other minority communities to their policy of divide and rule. This policy was followed by the native princes in their States in order to defeat any attempt at popular revolution. The Jammu and Kashmir State proved no excep-

tion to this policy of divide and rule. The minority communities here tried to justify what had already been regarded as undemocratic to the policy of a true nationalism of the Indian National Congress. In their pursuit for securing safeguards and other minority rights, the non-Muslims were as worse reactionaries as those in the British India whose politics always created obstacles in the way of secular nationalism in India. Though the opposition of the non-Muslims created many difficulties for the protagonists of responsible Government in the State, they could not deflect them from their path. The movement for responsible Government assumed gigantic dimensions from the day "the Responsible Government Day" was observed under a scheduled programme.

Responsible Government Day

On May 8, 1936, "the Responsible Government Day" was observed throughout the length and breadth of the State. The day was featured with the organisation of large public meetings, processions and other forms of demonstrations. For the first time in the history of the State, peasants and labourers joined the masses in their fight for freedom. Except a few countable figures such as Sardar Budh Singh, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz and one or two other non-Muslims, the Hindus in general remained aloof from the movement.

At a public meeting held on May 15, 1936 at Amirakadal a resolution was passed expressing regret at the composition of the then existing Legislative Assembly which was considered the main cause of trouble in the State. The resolution added that since the Assembly had been and was being used by the Government as an instrument for crushing the people's aspirations, the only remedy for rectifying the evil was the establishment of a Responsible Government in the State.⁸¹ The Maharaja was requested to replace his system of administration by introducing responsible form of Government under which the "minorities will have full protection".⁸²

Non-Muslim Reaction

The non-Muslims reacted adversely to the idea of Responsible Government in the State. They expressed doubts as to the wisdom of granting Responsible Government to the people in the absence of minority safeguards. A joint statement issued by two Kashmiri Pandit leaders, Pandit Sheo Narain Fotedar and Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, declared their non-cooperation with the movement. They said:⁸³

"We shall not join any such demonstration...We request His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur that no such demands as do not provide for the protection and the future security of his loyal minorities in the State may be conceded."

According to the leaders of the minorities the cry for Responsible Government was useless and the demand for its establishment was meant only "to snatch the Government from them".⁸⁴ It was this fear that was in fact responsible for this opposition to the introduction of a democratic system of Government in the State.

Muslim Views on Responsible Government

The idea of establishing Responsible Government had become a matter of faith with the Muslim subjects. They believed that it was incumbent on the ruler to part with his autocratic power and transfer a larger share of administrative responsibility to the people. This conviction had made them all the more resolute in their stand. So far as the question of the minority safeguards was concerned, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah gave the minorities an assurance on behalf of the Muslim masses that they were "prepared to give you the same safeguards, weightage and all that is necessary in the Constitution for the minorities that Indian National Congress is prepared to give to the Muslims of British India and other minority communities. Perhaps we would be more liberal. Let the dead past bury the dead..."⁸⁵

Knowing about the benefits of cooperation with the non-

Muslims in the fight for Responsible Government, the Muslim leadership was convinced that without this cooperation the movement would lose much of its nationalistic colour. What perplexed the Muslim leadership was the conditional approach of the non-Muslims towards the movement. It was an attitude of parochialism and political conservatism apt to retrograde political advancement. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru did not approve of this attitude. He advised them that "they should give up their narrow communal outlook and think of their own welfare in terms of the welfare of Kashmir as a whole, that is to say of the great majority of the people of Kashmir. I would advise them not to seek any special protection or weightage or reservation of seats in the State services, no special electorate or the like...They will get far more through goodwill and cooperation with other communities."⁸⁶

The appeal of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the advice of Jawaharlal Nehru was to make some dent on the minds of many young Hindus, and they made a common cause with the Muslim though majority of them kept themselves isolated.

Struggle for Responsible Government Within the Assembly

The struggle for responsible Government within the Assembly was the outcome of the way in which the Assembly had been working for the preceding three years making it evident to the elected members that the Assembly was nothing more than a mock-show. The official and nominated non-official members who were in a majority always sided with the Government, thus making it impossible for the elected members to function effectively. Moreover, the way in which the non-official Bills and Resolutions were treated by the Government made the popular representatives realize that their voice was a cry in the wilderness. Many non-official Bills and Resolutions suggesting economic and social development lapsed for want of time, and those moved were either defeated or withdrawn. So there were general walk-outs by the elected members against the partial attitude of the Government towards the wishes of the people.

On October 5, 1936 the leader of the Kisan Party repeated

his opposition to the Food Control Regulation (Amendment) Bill and suggested to the House to refer the Bill to the people for eliciting their opinion before it was introduced in the House. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg of the Muslim Conference Party supported the leader of the Kisan Party, Sardar Budh Singh, informing the House that the Bill had already been referred to the people and that two hundred and fifty-six opinions were received against and one hundred and seven in favour. The Government benches were not convinced. The resolution moved by Sardar Budh Singh was then put to vote. It was defeated by forty-one to twenty-four. The Revenue Minister was then given leave to introduce the Bill which was finally passed by the official and nominated non-official majority against the wishes of the elected representatives of the people.

On October 6, 1936 all elected members except three Kashmiri Pandits staged a walk-out from the Assembly as the Finance Minister opposed Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg's resolution recommending to the Council that the pay of officers drawing more than five hundred rupees a month be reduced by fifty per cent. The mover of the resolution contended that there existed a top-heavy administration, and by reducing the salaries of highly placed officials "the moneys thus saved could be spent for various developmental schemes which the State needs above everything else".⁸⁸ The leader of the Muslim Conference Party warned the Government that in case no heed was paid to the resolution the elected members would be compelled to take drastic measures. The warning went unheeded. The Finance Minister strongly opposed the resolution. The supporters of the resolution were dubbed Congressites and socialists. According to the Finance Minister the resolution appeared "to have its origin either in the Congress resolution which fixes the maximum limit of the salary of officials at five hundred rupees a month, or in the socialist move according to which a person is allowed a maximum of five hundred rupees and the surplus is to be deposited in the State treasury".⁸⁹ He declared that such a policy was impracticable. After having heard the Finance Minister, the leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Ram Chander Dobey said, "The elected members had no alternative but to register their protest by staging a walk-out."⁹⁰

Thereupon the Muslim Conference Party, the Liberal Group, the Kisan Party and two of the nominated members walked out of the House.

The futility of the members' protests against official measures and policies led them to boycott the budget session in October, 1936. The leader of the Kisan Party, Sardar Budh Singh, informed the House that the elected members were not going to participate in the budget session. He informed the House that the Finance Minister had failed to satisfy the popular representatives. On October 12, when discussion on budget began, the elected members except two of the three Pandits harshly criticised it.⁹¹ Pandit Jia Lal Kilam said, "The Government is the master of the House and the elected representatives are helpless. The Council makes wrong use of its powers." Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, leader of the Muslim Conference Party, said, "Our voice in this Assembly is a cry in the wilderness." Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil termed the budget a carpenter's adze. To Colonel Abdul Rehman the budget was the blood and sweat of millions of people many of whom had been driven to suicide by poverty. The budget was bright from without but rusty from within. Lala Hansraj made a plea for the power of the people over the purse, and Mr. Ramchander Dobey said that there was no point in discussing the budget. Thereafter the elected members would stage daily walk-outs. But these walk-outs did not bring about any change in the official attitude. Things came to a head when on October 29, Sardar Budh Singh resigned from the Assembly. This was followed by the resignation of the members of the Muslim Conference party.

Resignation of Sardar Budh Singh

On October 29, 1936, Sardar Budh Singh tendered his resignation from the State Assembly on the question of the Grazing Tax Bill. The Bill had been introduced in the Jammu session in April 1936 where it was referred to the Select Committee. The Select Committee had accepted the Bill by a majority recognizing the fact that "if justice was to be done and action taken on the matter it would mean the remission of the tax to

the tune of more than two lakhs of rupees.⁹² The Bill had not yet been reported back to the House by the Select Committee when on October 29, the Government, instead of allowing it to be discussed on the merit actually moved its withdrawal, and its motion was carried. The elected members criticised the motion. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg characterised the action of the Finance Minister as unlawful on the ground that the Bill could not be withdrawn until the Select Committee had submitted its report on it. Sardar Budh Singh charged the Government with "breach of faith", and said that it was no use remaining a member of the chamber.⁹³ On November 2, 1936 the leader of the Muslim Conference announced the resignation of his party from the Assembly. The resignations were accepted by the Maharaja. By-elections to the Assembly were ordered to be held in July 1937.

By-election and Its Consequences

The by-elections to the Legislative Assembly were held in July, 1937. The Muslim Conference Party returned to the Assembly the same candidates that had resigned in October, 1936. Sardar Budh Singh refused to contest the election. The Muslim masses in favour of the Muslim Conference Party endorsed the programme and policy of their leaders.

The consequences of the by-election convinced the non-Muslims of the genuineness of the demand for establishment of responsible Government. Several non-Muslim elected members of the Assembly had realized that the Assembly was a mock-show and that it needed democratisation. The establishment of the Assembly, in whatever form, had also proved an encouraging factor in the growth of the idea for the formation of a responsible Government as the final remedy for the ills of the political system prevalent in the State. This realization resulted in a greater integration between the Muslims and the non-Muslims in the due course of time. Also it brought about new developments on the political scene.

By 1937, polarisation had taken firm roots in both the Muslim and non-Muslim communities. The political die-hards and the conservative forces in the two communities began to lose hold

in politics. But this change was more noticeable in the Muslim community than the non-Muslim community, where reactionary forces still held the majority of its members under their sway. However, the progressively inclined minds among the non-Muslims made it clear to their community that they should place the question of minority safeguards before the majority community and support the movement for responsible Government.⁹⁴ Besides, the newly emerged forces such as the Kashmir Youth League, the Peasants and Labour Association, the Students Federation, the Congress Units and the socialistically oriented groups, became instrumental in giving new directions to the movement. By 1938, there was an all-pervading spirit of democracy and nationalism at work in Kashmir. The conduct of the freedom struggle on communal lines began to be condemned both by the Muslim leaders and the non-Muslim progressive forces. Sardar Budh Singh wrote:⁹⁵

“It is madness to think that the demand for Responsible Government is a religious demand. No religious body or communal organisation can singly achieve it. It is a national demand and is, therefore, common to all.”

Similarly, the Hindu progressive forces warned the leadership of their community against the consequences of their reactionary attitude towards the movement. They challenged the very claim of the Sanatan Dharm Yuvak Sabha that it was the only politically representative organisation of the Kashmiri Pandit community. They charged the leadership of the Sabha with having a conservative ideology and political narrow outlook. They also blamed the Sabha for its petty performances of job-seeking activities for its members and for helping them in their transfers from one place to another. The Yuvak Sabha, it was pointed out, could not live as a nation in this twentieth century. Its political and economic objectives were very low and it gave only a secondary importance to the problems of poverty and unemployment which were very acute in the entire State.⁹⁶ The progressive forces among the non-Muslims were thus redirecting the politics of their community from narrow sectarianism to a broadbased secular and national

platform. This goal could only be achieved in a democratic political set up.

For the Muslim leadership the movement for Responsible Government could succeed only if the non-Muslims supported the movement without any condition. The question of minority safeguards could be solved by mutual consent and in an atmosphere of freedom. With this aim in view, the Muslim leaders repeated their assurances to the non-Muslims that they would be given all the minority rights if the Responsible Government was achieved. An appeal was made to them to join the second anniversary of the Responsible Government Day which the Muslim Conference Party had decided to observe on August 5, 1938.

Second Anniversary of the Responsible Government Day

On August 5, 1938, after great preparations, the second anniversary of the Responsible Government Day was observed in the entire State. Public meetings were organised some of which were presided over by the non-Muslims. "Azad Assembly" was the chief slogan shouted everywhere. The following resolution was adopted at every meeting:⁹⁷

"This mass meeting of the people places on record its complete repudiation of the present system of Irresponsible Government and wishes to express its faith in the establishment of complete Responsible Government which alone can cure the ills of the people. Therefore, this gathering appeals to all patriotic persons to unite for coming struggle for liberty. Victory of that struggle done would usher in a period of complete political, economic and social emancipation."

The observance of the Responsible Government Day and the resolution passed at the public meetings meant great consternation to the Government. On October 17, 1938 the General Council of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference took a decision as to the action to be taken in case the Government thwarted the movement. A War Council was appointed

in order to guide the movement in the absence of the leaders in prison. Bakshi Gulam Mohammad was entrusted with the task of conducting the organisation. He went under-ground to work for the movement.⁹⁸

On August 20, 1938 Doctor Sheikh Mohammad Alam, a well-known Congressite present in Srinagar those days made a public speech at Azad Park, Srinagar. He made a fiery speech calling the Maharaja an agent of the British imperialism. On August 24, the High Court announced judgement on a political convict, Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan reducing his term of imprisonment from three to one and a half years. But the Raja was not released. The judgement went against the expectations of the people who had been anxiously waiting for his release. They protested against the judgement and organised mass processions and public meetings, shouting slogans "long live revolution", "Ayyangar Wazarat Murdabad", "Shakhsi Raj Murdabad". The Government machinery was set in motion to crush the protesters.

Repression by Government

On August 26, 1938 the city of Srinagar was placed under section 144 of the Indian Penal Code. On August 27, notices were served on Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Sardar Budh Singh, Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi and Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, requiring them to present themselves before the Additional District Magistrate on 29th August, and to furnish securities of one thousand rupees each for keeping good behaviour. The leaders disregarded the notices and openly defied section 144 by organising public meetings at Hazratbal and Azad Park on 28th and 29th August respectively. On 29th August was also issued the National Demand including the establishment of Responsible Government. Thereupon the authorities made indiscriminate arrests and let loose terrorism. The 19-L was repeated. What was more, "houses were raided and articles of daily household use, the books of children, the ornaments of women-folk and even cooking utensils were sold to realise fines from the disaffected persons."¹⁰⁰

The agitation lasted for about one and a half months. During

this period nine hundred and seventy five persons were arrested out of whom "five hundred were arrested under 19-L which did not allow them to know the cause of their arrest which was made without notice or warrant".¹⁰¹ The arrested included lawyers, journalists, Doctors of medicine, leading businessmen and students. The political prisoners in jails were treated with disrespect. They were denied even elementary rights and privileges which they deserved under law and which were enjoyed by political prisoners in British India.

The imprisonment of all top political leaders and most active workers of the movement caused slackness in the movement. The police terrorism and the extraction of heavy fines from poor people compelled the Secretary of the War Council to suspend the movement in mid-November, 1938. But the movement did not die down. In order to appease the people, the Maharaja granted a new reformed Constitution Act known as the Jammu and Kashmir Regulation No. 2 of 1996 (Samvat). The Act introduced the following to the Constitution Act of 1991 (Samvat):¹⁰²

First, the number of elected members to the legislative Assembly was raised from thirty-three to forty.

Secondly, the Assembly was granted the right to elect its own Deputy President from among the non-official members.

Thirdly, provision was also made for the appointment of a non-official member as Under Secretary whose function was to effect closer association between the Government and the members of the Assembly.

Finally, the Assembly was given the power to vote on demands made by the Government for budget appropriations. However, the reserved subjects were kept, as before, beyond the powers of the Assembly. The power of passing all legislation pertaining to taxes as distinguished from fees and penalties was also conceded to the Assembly.

Critical Appraisal

The new Constitution Act of 1939 proved far from satisfactory and was bitterly criticised. In a joint statement Sheikh

Mohammad Abdullah, Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Kashyap Bandhu, Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, Dr. Peshin and Mian Ahmad Yar Khan said.¹⁰³

“...We are painfully constrained to submit that the scheme of reforms adumbrated in the said announcement is unworthy of the Government of a great State to offer and equally unworthy for its people to accept it...It is the negation of all fundamental principles of democracy and carries with itself many a retrograde feature which makes the scheme a menace to democracy itself.”

On April 1, 1939 during the Assembly session at Jammu, the leader of the Muslim Conference, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, moved a resolution in the House demanding the establishment of responsible Government at an early date. Both the official and the nominated non-official members of the Assembly opposed the resolution. When the President of the Assembly, Sir Ganga Nathan, announced the disapproval of the resolution by the House, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, standing upon his seat, shouted the slogan “long live Azad Assembly”, and then walked out along with his party.

The most undemocratic feature of the reformed Constitution Act of 1996 (Samvat) was the representation by direct election given to vested interests such as Jagirdars, Inamdars, Pension-holders, etc. Of the total new seats added to the elected membership of the Assembly, two were given to *Tazimi Zamindars*, two to Jagirdars *Muafidars* and *Mukarraridars*, holding a Jagir or Muafi or Mukarrari from the State of not less than five hundred rupees in value per annum. Two seats were allotted to land-holders owning land assessed to a land revenue of not less than two hundred and fifty rupees per annum. One seat was to be elected by pension-holders, receiving a pension of one hundred rupees or more per month. The new elements added to the elected block of the Assembly were forces of conservatism and reactionarianism whose interests would never coincide with those of the common masses. These forces were in fact the exploi-

tative agents in the hierarchy of the State machinery. They had never identified themselves with the masses and it was understandable that they would never support the cause of the masses in the Assembly. By bringing in these elements the Government strengthened its position further.

Problems of Indian Federal Scheme in Kashmir Politics

The struggle for freedom in India had compelled the Government of India and the Government of England in 1919 to grant the people some measure of further responsibility. But the Act of 1919 did not come upto expectations of the people of British India. Therefore the Government of Britain appointed a Statutory Commission with Sir John Simon as Chairman. The Commission was entrusted with the task of surveying the working of the Act of 1919 and making a report on further devolution of responsibility to Indians. The Commission recommended that the British Government should summon the representatives of British India and the Indian native States to a conference "for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament."¹⁰⁴ It also suggested further course of action to be adopted by means of consultation with Indian native States and by promoting cooperation of all the concerned parties and interests with regard to the problem of constitutional advancement. This was the origin of the Round Table Conferences. The inclusion of native States in the Round Table Conferences was not considered wise by the Indian nationalists who wanted real transfer of power. The Indian nationalists and the princes suspected each other. "If the princes were afraid of the Congress, the Congress was also afraid of them."¹⁰⁵

The outcome of the discussions at the Round Table Conferences was the Government of India Act 1935. The Act placed India on the scheme of Federal polity. The main objective of the British was to unite the Indian States with the rest of India which could be done only under a federal scheme. But the sort of federation envisaged under the Government of India Act 1935, was neither politically sound nor practicable. It was

a unique combination of the forces of democracy and despotism which had no parallel in any federal political system in the world. Thus, whereas the scheme had made it compulsory for the British Indian Provinces to join the federation, it was made optional for the States to do so. Also the process of federalising India had been the reverse of a true federal process which aims at "a perpetual union of several sovereign states, based first upon a treaty between those states, or upon some historical status common to them all and secondly, upon a federal constitution accepted by their citizens".¹⁰⁶ In India the federal scheme was brought into existence by a process of breaking British India into eleven provinces and of bringing in of the native States which were required to surrender in substance very few powers to the federal sphere. The federating units thus differed both in status and in principles.

The states were allowed to be under the rule of autocracy of the Princes and the British provinces more or less under responsible Government. The representatives of the States in the federal legislature were to be the ruler's nominees, and those of the British Provinces elected by the people. This arrangement had divided the federal Government in two parts, the one part was "based upon parliamentary principles, that of the other upon oriental absolutism".¹⁰⁷

The federal scheme denied to the people of the native States the right of citizenship of the federation as well as the enjoyment of the same civil rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the British Indian provinces. Besides, in the federal legislature the representatives of the States had the power to vote for laws affecting British India only, and which the States had not to obey, whereas the representatives of the British Indian provinces were powerless in matter of voting on subjects which affected the States or their people. This was a great anomaly of the scheme.

Some other anomalies of the Federal Act were that:

- (a) it had not recognised the principle of equal representation of the federating units in the upper House of the federal legislature irrespective of their size and population;

- (b) it had made the election of the Council of State (Upper House) direct instead of indirect and the election of the Federal House (Lower House) indirect instead of direct;
- (c) the elections were based on communal considerations which were bound to strengthen provincialism and disrupt the national unity which was in the making ; and
- (d) it had made the distribution of powers incidental for the British Indian Provinces whereas the powers enjoyed by the States depended upon the terms of the Instrument of Accession of each State.

The scheme as a whole was bound to retard India's progress, and as such, it was vehemently criticised by almost all shades of opinions in India. M.A. Jinnah characterized the federal Act as "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable . . ." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru condemned the Act as a charter of slavery which was calculated "to strengthen the hands of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of the masses".¹⁰⁹ The distinguished authority on Constitutions, Prof. A.B. Keith rightly pointed out:¹¹⁰

"I am satisfied that the system of construction of Federation under which the nominees of autocratic rulers are to have a powerful voice in both Houses of the Federation, in order to counteract Indian democracy is quite indefensible. . . I should have proposed federation only for units which were themselves under responsible Government, and have admitted the Princes only on condition that they have their States Constitutions leading up to responsible Government, and that their representatives in both Houses of Central Legislature were elected by the people of the States."

The Indian federation was, however, made dependent upon the cooperation of the rulers of Indian native states. The rulers of the States, expressing their willingness to join it, were the first to favour the immediate establishment of an All India Federation. Even the Maharaja of Kashmir had declared: "To my mind, there is today no alternative to federation."¹¹¹ But the change in the attitude of the Indian National Congress to-

wards the native States became a source of anxiety to the princes. The Congress was pledged to destroy the federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935, and it was feared that "the subjection of a united India to a Congress Raj would be less likely so long as the States were free from popular control".¹¹² It was this consideration which made the Congress change the policy of neutrality towards the people of the native States. Thereafter the Congress supported the right of the people of the States for responsible Government so that in case Indian princes chose to opt for a federal set-up, they had to send popular representatives to the federal legislature in place of what had been provided by the Act of 1935 under Section 18 and the First Schedule. In the Jammu and Kashmir State this policy of the Indian National Congress found favour with the leaders of the freedom struggle and the federal problems became a part and parcel of the movement for responsible Government.

The problem of the establishment of federal polity in Indian politics assumed appreciable dimensions in the Kashmir politics also. The Kashmir Youth League was the first to concern itself with this problem. On September 16, 1936 it convened a meeting of its Executive Committee under the presidency of Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq. The meeting was attended, among others, by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, Durga Prashad Dhar, Suddur-ud-din Mujahid, Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, Mohammad Yussuf Quraishi, Pandit Ved Lal Dhar, Pandit Nand Lal Vakil and Ghulam Mohammad, the jeweller. The Executive Committee expressed protest against the federal part of the Government of India Act 1935 and passed the following resolution:¹¹³

The Federation is anti-democratic. It is detrimental to the Indian nation in general and the States in particular.

It was also resolved that a sub-committee be appointed to enter into correspondence with the people of the other native States for purposes of establishing an All India Federation Conference. The Kashmir Youth League also sent invitation to the people of the native States, asking them to join the anti-Federation struggle started by the Youth League in Kashmir. For this purpose, the League appointed an Anti-Federation

Committee. The Committee was to prepare a memorandum which was to be circulated among the people of the States, their leaders and different political organisations there.

During the anti-Federation movement the Government of India busied itself with persuading the princes to join the Federal Scheme. Sir Francis Wylie was sent by the Viceroy to Jammu to have talks with the Maharaja of Kashmir who was "definitely for federation"¹¹⁵ over the terms of accession to the federation. The talks were held at Ramnagar Palace in Jammu. Meanwhile the Press announced that the Maharaja of Kashmir would shortly make known his willingness to join the federation.¹¹⁶ This news surprised the people and the political leaders. The Kashmir Youth League became more inimical to the idea of the federation. In due course of time, the Indian National Congress decided to launch an anti-Federation Day throughout the country on April 1, 1937. In view of this decision the Kashmir Youth League's Executive Committee met on March 12, 1937, and unanimously agreed to observe the anti-Federation Day in Kashmir also on 1st April, 1937.¹¹⁷

Anti-Federation Day in Kashmir

The Anti-Federation Day was observed in Kashmir according to the scheduled programme. The Kashmir Youth League organised mass meetings; shops remained closed and vehicles kept off the road. In the evening a public meeting at Amira-kadal passed the following resolution:¹¹⁸

The federal scheme granted under the present Constitution Act is extremely harmful for the people of the States. The purpose of the federal scheme is to crush the present struggle for the national freedom in British India . . . As this federal scheme is being forcibly imposed on the people of the States, in their utter helplessness, and as they have not been given any right to elect their own representatives to the federal legislature, this meeting expresses in clear terms its deep distrust of the scheme. The meeting resolves that in case the federal scheme is implemented against the wishes of the people of the States, the people of Kashmir will not

have any concern with it. They will have to find out some such measures as will enable them to give a practical shape to their own wishes.

Identifying itself with the national forces in the Indian sub-continent, the anti-Federation movement in Kashmir became a part of the struggle for responsible Government. The federal scheme under the Government of India Act 1935 was opposed throughout the length and breadth of the State. Sardar Budh Singh in an article proposed the following suggestions to be made before the federal scheme was adopted:¹¹⁹

First, the federal scheme as envisaged by the Act of 1935 was not acceptable to the people of Kashmir in the absence of all the rights, powers and benefits of administration under a good Constitution which were available to the people in British India.

Secondly, in case the Federation became unavoidable, the people of the States should be given the right to send their elected representatives to the federal legislature because there could be absolutely no hope from the nominated members by the ruler to plead the interests of common masses in the legislature. The nominated members, it was feared, would toe the official policy in matters of legislation.

Thirdly, whereas the representatives of the States were entitled to vote on Indian matters, the elected members of British Indian Provinces in the federal legislature "should (also) be given the right to speak and vote on state matters", so that the matters concerning the people of the States could be handled rightly according to their desires.

Finally, in case the above mentioned suggestions were not implemented the cooperation with a self-made federal scheme was impossible. Under the federal scheme as granted under the Government of India Act, 1935, the arbitrary decisions were bound to make the working of the scheme both difficult and impossible.

The federal part of the Act of 1935 was dependent upon the Princes. The question of joining the federation was in turn a matter between the rulers of the States and the ruled. The Nizam of Hyderabad had made it clear that "before acceding to the federation, it is very essential that the conditions of

accession be placed before my subjects who should be given an opportunity to express their opinion on it".¹²⁰ The people of Kashmir wanted the same thing. The internal autonomy was a condition precedent to the State associating with the Indian political system, as it was rightly pointed out that, "before acceding to the federation, internal autonomy should be established in the States".¹²¹

The anti-federation movement and the struggle for the achievement of responsible Government in the Jammu and Kashmir State became inseparable from each other. The movement assumed gigantic proportions when Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan was arrested in 1938 for having delivered a speech enjoining "upon the Princes to desist from joining the Federation which sought to perpetuate the servitude of India with their aid".¹²²

The anti-Federation movement in Kashmir was an expression of the people's desire to achieve democratic rights with the clear-set aim of establishing democratic, political institutions in the States. The movement proved significant in that it brought the freedom struggle of the people of the State closer to the mainstream of the national movement conducted by the Indian National Congress. The movement however collapsed as the federal part of the Act of 1935 did not come into operation. The Princes hoped that the postponement of the federal scheme would mean the postponement of democratic freedom for British India.

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2. *Memorial containing demands of Muslims* published by All India Kashmir Committee, Lahore, 1931, p. 9.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11 and 13.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 9
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.
6. L.P. Sinha, *Left Wing in India*, (Muzaffarpur, New Publishers Damu-chak, 1965), p. 287.
7. Preamble of the Section dealing with Fundamental Rights, *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. I., 1931, p. 363.
8. The following are the clauses of the Resolution on Fundamental Rights:
 1. Right to freedom of opinion of free association and combination.
 2. Freedom of conscience, of religion.
 3. Protection of culture, language, script of minorities and of different linguistic religions.
 4. Equality before law irrespective of caste, creed or sex.
 5. No disability for employment or exercise of trade, based on caste, religion or sex.
 6. Equal rights in regard to public wells, tanks, roads, schools etc.
 7. Right to keep and bear arms.
 8. No deprivation of liberty or confiscation of property save in accordance with law.
 9. State's neutrality regarding religion.
 10. Universal Adult Franchise.
 11. State shall provide for free and compulsory primary education.
 12. No titles by the State.
 13. No Capital punishment.
 14. Freedom for citizens to live anywhere and move throughout, settle-down, acquire property etc.

M.V. Ramana Rao, *A Short History of Indian National Congress*, (Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1959), p. 147.
9. *Memorial Containing Demands of Muslims* (Lahore, All India Kashmir Committee, 1931), pp. 7-9.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
11. The representative of Kashmir Pandit community was first nominated by the Pandits but immediately after he joined the deliberations of Grievances Commission under Galancy, the Kashmiri Pandits protested against his continuation on the Commission. They wanted their representative, Pt. P.N. Bazaz, to resign. But Mr. Bazaz continued to work with Galancy against the wishes of his community. He was not, therefore, considered by Pandits to be their representative.
12. Report of the Constitutional Reforms Conference, 1932 vide Mir Niyaz, (trans.), *Galancy Commission Report*, (Lahore, Mir Brothers), n.d., pp. 152-153.
13. General Secretary, All States Peoples Conference, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
14. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), March 25, 1932, p. 10.

15. Mir Niyaz, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
17. Holder of a Patta or share in a Coparcenary village or estate.
18. Written authority, deed or grant from one in authority.
19. Mir Niyaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
21. A revenue agent who supervised the work of Lambardar.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
23. *Report of the Franchise Committee* (Urdu), Jammu, p. 1.
24. *The Ranbir Weekly* (Jammu), April 17-24, 1933.
25. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1933, p. 7.
26. Mulk Raj Anand Saraf rejected the composition of Assembly on communal lines. Shri Lok Nath Sharma pleaded that 51% seats should be allotted to non-Muslims whether elected or nominated. He said Hindus were conquerors of Kashmir. A Kashmiri Pandit Journalist, Gwash Lal, B.A. said that the Assembly should have equal number of members from both the communities (Hindus and Muslims). *The Ranbir Weekly* (Jammu), May 15, 1933, p. 6.
27. *The Ranbir Weekly* (Jammu), April 17-24, 1933, p. 19.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), April 25, 1933.
31. The Secretary of Arya Vir Sangh, Mr. Ram Dass Suri, Dr. Atri and Ram Saran Dass Malhotra put similar proposals before the Franchise Committee. *The Ranbir Weekly* (Jammu), May 16, 1933, p. 6.
32. Report of the Franchisement Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Letter to the Editor by Sir Ivo Elliot, *The Statesman*. (Calcutta), February 17, 1934.
35. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), February 15, 1935, p. 13.
36. *Ibid.*
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39. General Secretary, All India States Peoples Conference, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
40. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), April 20, 1934, p. 9.
41. *The Jammu and Kashmir Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat*, Sections 10, 18 and 20.

Also See Appendix—H.

42. *Ibid.*, Sections 17 and 21.
43. *Ibid.*, Sections 10 and 13.
44. *Ibid.*, Section 7.
45. *Ibid.*, Section 26.
46. *Ibid.*, Section 27.
47. *Ibid.*, Section 28.

48. *Ibid.*, Section 3.
49. *Ibid.*, Section 35.
50. *Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly Rules of Business and Procedure*, Rule 70.
51. *Ibid.*, Rule 71.
52. *Ibid.*, Rule 34.
53. *Ibid.*, Rule 49.
54. *Ibid.*, Rules 40-45.
55. *Ibid.*, Rule 16.
56. *Jammu and Kashmir Regulation Act No. 1 of 1991 Samvat*, Section 36.
57. *Ibid.*, Section 39.
58. *Ibid.*, Section 40.
59. *Ibid.*, Sections 41-42.
60. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, (Srinagar, The Kashmir Publishing Co. 1941), p. 385.
61. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, "Tawarikh-i-Tahrik-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir", *The Aina Weekly* (Srinagar). September 23, 1973, p. 5.
62. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), September 20, 1934, p. 9.
63. Kashmir (Muslim Constituencies)
Province

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| (a) Srinagar City | ... | Khwaja Ali Mohammad
Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah
Haji Mohammad Shahdad
Syed Hussain Shah Jalali
Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad |
| (b) Handwara | ... | Khwaja Sonaullah Shah |
| Badgam | ... | Khwaja Ghulam Mohi-ud-din |
| Kulgam | ... | Khwaja Ghulam Hassan Malik |
| Awantipur | ... | Khwaja Akbar Dar |
| Muzafferrabad | ... | Mian Ahmad Yar |
| (c) Hindu constituencies | | |
| Srinagar city (North) | ... | Pandit Amar Nath Kak |
| Srinagar city (South) | ... | Pandit Jia Lal Kilam |
| (d) Poonch Jagir (Mohammadans) | | |
| Haveli Meandar | ... | M. Fateh Mohammad Khan of Kerala |
| Bugh Sudhunti | ... | Subedar Khan Mohammad Khan |
| (e) Jammu Province (Hindu Constituencies) | | |
| Jammu city (North) | ... | Amar Nath Kohli |
| Jammu city (South) | ... | Pandit Dev Raj Shashtri |

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Mirpur Kolti	... Bakshi Moti Ram Zaildar
Jammu Rural	... Choudhri Chatter Singh
Kathua	... Pt. Ram Chand Dobey

(f) Jammu Province fMuslim Constituencies)

Mirpur Kolti	... Ch. Abdul Karim Zamindar
Jammu rural	... Ch. Abdullah Khan

(c) Unopposed Elections (Muslim Constituencies)

Jammu city	... Sheikh Mohammad Amin
Udhampur	... Col. Abdul Rehman Khan
Reasi	... Major Ata Mohammad
Kathua	... Mian Qurban Ahmad
Bhimbar	... Raja Murrawat Khan
Anantnag	... Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg
Baramullah	... Kh. Saif Shah

Hindu Constituencies

Reasi	... Wazir Ganga Ram
Kashmir	... Pt. Gobind Ram Kabu
Mirpur-Poonch Sikh	... Sardar Budh Singh
West Kashmir Sikh	... Sardar Kanhiya Singh

The Statesman, September 20, 1934, p. 9.

Returning Officers for city constituencies

(The Governor, the Assistant Governor, the President of Municipality, the Assistant District Magistrate) were selected as Returning Officers.

For the Rural areas

Wazir-i-Wa zarat

The Statesman, September 5, 1934, p. 9.

Out of 33 constituencies, 11 candidates including 4 (four) non-Muslims were returned unopposed, and there were 65 candidates left to contest the remaining 22 constituencies, where the contest was between 6 to 2 candidates.

Of 21 candidates, nine were nominees of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. All the 5 successful candidates for Srinagar city belonged to one party. Of the remaining twelve, one was Jagirdar, 3 were Zaildars and two pensioners, while six appeared to be non-party men coming from the Zamindar or business community.

The Statesman, September 20, 1934, p. 9.

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66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *The Hamdard, Weekly*, Srinagar.
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71. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi "Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir", *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, May 23, 1974, p. 5.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Editorial, *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, May 4, 1936, p. 5.
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76. *Ibid.*
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80. *The Tribune* (Lahore), April 3, 1936, p. 4.
81. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, May 16, 1936, p. 10.
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84. *Ibid.*
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93. Editorial, *The Tribune* (Lahore), November 3, 1936, p. 10.
94. Speech delivered by Pandit Kashyap Bandhu at Rainawari Srinagar, *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, July 31, 1937, p. 11.
95. Sardar Budh Singh, "Zamindari-Nizam-i-Hukumat-ke-Khwaab-ki-Tabir", *The Hamdard Weekly*, Srinagar, July 13, 1938, p. 35.
96. D.P. Dhar and Kashi Nath Karihaloo, "Zamindari-Nizam-i-Hukumat-Aur-Kashmiri Pandit", *The Hamdard (Weekly)* Srinagar, July 13, 1938, p. 35.

97. General Secretary, States Peoples Conference, Bombay, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
98. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 10, 1975, p. 4.
99. Dr. Alam had come to Srinagar during these days in order to plead the case of Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan of Mirpur who was under arrest on political grounds.
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112. R. Coupland, *The Constitutional Problems in India*, (Part II), (Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 171.
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114. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, September 26, 1936, p. 11.
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[illegible]

Secularisation of Politics

The conversion of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference into the National Conference, a changeover on broader basis symbolising the secularisation of politics in Kashmir, became an inevitable necessity owing to certain developments within and without the Muslim Conference Organisation. These developments were the appearance of factious politics among the leaders, the inimical role played by the Hindu communities and the Government against the freedom struggle conducted solely by the Muslims and the consequent emergence of radical forces and their role in redirecting the movement which ultimately threw its doors open to the non-Muslims. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was the pivotal figure amidst these developments and it was he who played the most notable role in providing a more broadbased secular and nationalistic bias to the movement.

Factionalism Among Muslims

Factionalism among the Muslim politicians was an outcome of many factors. Soon after the freedom movement was started, the young dynamic leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah diminished the importance of the old religious and conservative group represented by the Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah. The decline in the position of the Mirwaiz in politics

made him think that he ought not to have supported Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his colleagues at the time the freedom movement was launched in July 1931. In order to regain his lost position and prestige, the Mirwaiz began to think on independent lines. Believing that the Ahmadiyas were mainly responsible for Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's eminence he attacked them vehemently for their religious heresies. This brought about sharp differences between him and the Sheikh. These differences grew so severe that the Muslims were involved in factions which ultimately led to a clear-cut schism between the Sheikh and the Mirwaiz. Two major factious groups, one led by the Sheikh and the other by the Mirwaiz, came into existence. Both the leaders took to opposite directions, never to meet again.

The basic cause of factionalism

The basic cause of factionalism among the Muslims was the ambition of Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah to dominate politics. He wanted that "every political decision taken by the Muslim leadership should be enforced with his consent and according to his directions".¹ Failing in this ambition, he began to criticise the Muslim leaders on religious grounds. As early as September 11, 1931, while addressing a public meeting at the Jamia Masjid, he advised the people against the participation of women in the public meetings.² Referring to the Ahmadiyas, he said:³

"Those who do not follow the canons of Islam will never progress. The progress of Muslims depends on Islam being followed in its true sense...Those who do not know the different aspects and meaning of the Arabic language, can interpret the Quran only wrongly."

Again, on October 11, 1931 the Mirwaiz exposed the faults of the Muslim masses at the Kanil Masjid and cautioned them that they should refuse to listen to political speeches of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.⁴ His opposition soon changed into a campaign of vilification. The campaign was conducted from

the Jamia Masjid, which became the centre of only such activities.

By the beginning of 1932, the Mirwaiz had become an avowed political rival of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, whose political career was yet in its infancy. The rivalry between the two became so acute that the entire Muslim population disintegrated into two major factious groups with their leaders earning two nick-names which have become part of Kashmir history.⁵ The followers of one faction became the sworn enemies of the other, and thus for the people politics became more an affair of loyalty to their respective leaders than to the cause of the freedom movement.

The Mirwaiz's opposition against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Ahmadiyas did not, however, prove effective on religious grounds. He then criticised the Ahmadiyas on political grounds, hoping that he would succeed in bringing them (the Ahmadiyas) to the disaffection of the people. On January 22, 1932, the Mirwaiz branded them pro-Britishers, and favoured the anti-British attitude of the Ahrar party. He said:⁶

"It was by mistake that I had joined the Ahmadiyas. But I realised that they were British agents who are sent here for their own vested interests."

The contention of the Moulvi was that the movement in Kashmir "was dominated by the Ahmadiyas who had been thinking on anti-Islamic lines. They opposed even decisions taken by the Muslim representatives. When they became extremists I withdrew from them. We wanted to get our demands granted through constitutional methods".⁷ The Moulvi also termed them anti-Maharaja for having created trouble in Kashmir. In this way he allied himself with the Government. According to him the Ahmadiyas "attacked the person of the Maharaja...We will destroy them root and branch and then get our demands granted".⁸ Again, "Qadeer was an Ahmadiya and the *Tauhin-i-Quran* was a conspiracy hatched by the Ahmadiyas"⁹ against the ruler. For him it was impossible to work with the Muslim representatives unless

and until the Ahmadiyas were expelled from the movement. He even refused to cooperate with them.¹⁰ Ranged as the Sheikh and the Moulvi were against each other, factional strifes between their followers began to happen on a large scale which resulted in arson, loot and murder. The entire social fabric came under a terrible strain.

Efforts at conciliation

These strifes threatened the very foundation on which the movement was based. For a time it seemed that loyalty to the leaders had become more important than to the cause the movement stood for. Under these circumstances well-meaning people made efforts now and then to bring about a conciliation between the two leaders. Thus, in June, 1932 Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq of Amritsar invited Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa and other leading Muslims to a tea party. The aim was to make them reconcile their differences and work unitedly. None but Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah greatly displeased Sheikh Sadiq.¹¹ In July, some young Muslims belonging to different sects and parties established an association, named "Itihad-i-Muslimeen", to bring about unity among the Muslims. The members of the association organised meetings where the speakers held forth on the themes of unity and cooperation. But soon this association petered out, as some of its members were accused of belonging to the Ahmadiya sect.¹² Similar efforts were made in August 1932 by a group of learned Muslims to heal the breach between the two parties. They constituted a Committee for Conciliation, consisting of Mirwaiz Hamadani, Ghulam Qadir Bhangi, Ahsan Shah Makhdoomi and Moulvi Abdullah Vakil, with Sayed Mubarik Shah as the President.¹³ But the Committee failed in its task.

Ban on Political Speeches

In view of the chaotic situation created by the factious strifes, the Government imposed on August 18, 1932 Section 144 of

Indian Penal Code within the Municipal limits of the city. Under a Government order issued at the same time, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were prohibited from making political speeches at the Jamia Masjid, Khanqah-i-Mualla and Pather Masjid respectively. Speeches on religious and social reform were not, however, banned.¹⁴ Despite these measures, strifes continued unabated.

Efforts for Conciliation Revived

Efforts for conciliation were revived. On August 24, 1932 a meeting of some leading Kashmiri Muslims and some Muslims from outside the State was held near Sathu Barbarshah in a houseboat named "Gulshan".¹⁵ As a follow-up action of this meeting, Professor Alim-ud-Din Salik made personal efforts to bring Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah together. Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah placed the following two conditions before Professor Salik for a possible conciliation with the Sheikh:¹⁶

First, Mirza Mahmud Ahmad should be expelled from the All India Kashmir Committee.

Secondly, an Executive Board should be constituted. All the matters should be first discussed and decided in the Board and then put into execution.

The conditions were accepted by Professor Salik. Another meeting was fixed to be held on August 27, 1932 at the residence of Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl.¹⁷ But before the meeting could take place, Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Shah Mubarak announced at the Jamia Masjid that it was impossible to conciliate with "scoundrels, looters and Ahmadiyas". This was a clear indication that Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and his colleagues were in no mood to cooperate. In spite of this announcement, the proposed meeting was held according to the schedule. All invitees except Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah attended. The Moulvi's objection this time was that unless and until Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah¹⁸ and the Ahmadiyas renounced in public

their belief in the Ahmadiya faith, there would be no conciliation. He told his audience at the Jamia Masjid:¹⁹

“...I had joined the movement in the beginning. But when the Ahmadiyas continued to join it, I withdrew myself from it.”

The meeting of August 27 ended in a failure. The gulf between the two parties continued widening. The situation was aggravated when controversy over the use of the Muslim Conference Funds was raised by the Moulvi.

Controversy over the Relief Funds

The Moulvi accused the Sheikh and his colleagues of having misused the funds of the Muslim Conference Organisation. The Sheikh denied the charge. Explaining his position at a public meeting at Khanqah-i-Mualla on June 24, 1932, he said:²⁰

“I am ready for conciliation. I have no grudge against any person. I have not only been spending money for my personal use from own pocket but I have also deposited a hundred rupees towards the Committee Fund. I have no contribution personally from outside the State. Nor have I received any money from Handawara. Three hundred rupees have been sent from Egypt to the organisation. Some money was collected by my class-fellows at Aligarh, after they heard that I had started freedom struggle, and correspondence is in process with them. The money contributed by public in Kashmir has been spent on workers...”

Similarly, the Moulvi denied a similar counter-charge levelled against him by the Sheikh. His retort was that Abdullah was behaving like “the Sultan of Kashmir”.²¹ On January 27, speaking of the Moulvi, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla said:²²

“He sucks the blood of poor people. I had given him twenty-seven hundred rupees in presence of Saad-ud-Din Shawl and G.A. Ashai. The All India Kashmir Committee

sent him five hundred rupees. He embezzled this money. His advisors are the persons who also embezzle the money belonging to mosques."

These allegations and counter-allegations only helped to further alienate the rival factions. The political atmosphere became so oppressive that Prime Minister Calvin and some Muslim officials of the State felt uneasy. It was at their instance that Deputy Inspector General of Police, Sardar Wazir Khan and Additional District Magistrate, Sheikh Abdul Rashid tried in their unofficial capacity to bring about rapprochement between the groups. Through their efforts the leaders agreed that any kind of vilification by one group against the other should be stopped and mutual bickerings discouraged. The leaders were also advised to refrain from making personal attacks against each other.²³ Accordingly the leaders advised their followers to maintain peace and live cordially with one another. For a time the dust seemed to have settled down.

Factions between Two Religious Leaders

In April, 1933 animosity between Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Mirwaiz Hamadani reached its climax. Professional rivalry between the two had been going on for a long time. At the very start of the freedom struggle, Mirwaiz Hamadani had chosen to align himself with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Muslim Conference. This had made Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah uneasy, for he feared that Mirwaiz Hamadani's prominence might be calamitous to his religious leadership in the long run. This apprehension set him on a war path against Mirwaiz Hamadani, and this led to strifes between their followers in April 1933.

Cause of the Faction

In April, 1933, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah went on a tour to the Punjab. During his absence an issue arose over the right of preaching in the mosques between their followers. These clashes became as fierce as those of the *Sher* and the *Bakra* party.

The Government became concerned and "the Government prohibited both Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Hamadani from preaching for the present".²⁴ The prohibitory order was challenged by Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Shah Mubarakhi who declared that the ban on preaching in mosques was an undue interference in religious matters which "could never be tolerated".²⁵

Arrest of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah

On April 24, 1933 the Additional Magistrate of the City served notices on both Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Moulvi Hamadani, asking them to deposit one thousand rupees each under Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code or else to undergo a simple imprisonment for one year. Mirwaiz Hamadani deposited the security but Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah refused to do so. Thereupon he was arrested on April 27 but was later released on his furnishing the required security.²⁶

Recurrence of Party Factions between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah

The release of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah was followed once again by party-strifes between him and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. These strifes grew more widespread on April 28, 1933. On May 8, 1933, Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad resigned from the presidentship of the All India Kashmir Committee and Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal was elected the new President. This change was considered to augur well for a possible rapprochement between the Sheikh and the Mirwaiz. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah asked for Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah's cooperation, suggesting that since Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad had resigned from the All India Kashmir Committee, the Mirwaiz should now cooperate with the leaders of the Muslim Conference. But Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Shah Mubarakhi declared that the conciliation would depend on the expulsion of Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil and his son, Abdul Rahim, from the movement.²⁷ For the sake of solidarity among the Muslims this condition was accepted by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

though much against his will. Not only that, Abdul Rahim announced to the people at the Lattar Masjid on May 20, 1933 that he had no objection to withdrawing from the movement if that would ensure unity and solidarity among the Muslims.²⁸

These assurances notwithstanding, there was no let up in the clashes. On May 25, 1933 one Khalil Wani belonging to Sheikh Abdullah's party was fatally injured in a scuffle and a few days later he passed away in hospital. The incident created a grave law and order situation in the city. The State Council decided that "there can be no peace until ring leaders on both sides are arrested".²⁹ In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation a decision was taken to arrest the leaders "after the policy of conciliation and tolerance has been tried to its extreme limit".³⁰ On May 31, 1933, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other leaders were arrested but neither of the Mirwaizes was touched.

Birth of Azad Muslim Conference

During the absence of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his political colleagues from the scene, Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah organised a separate political party named "All Jammu and Kashmir Azad Muslim Conference". This foreclosed the possibility of any understanding with the Muslim Conference, and, at the same time, brought into focus the problem of saving the Muslim movement for democratic institutions from disintegration.

Role of Choudhary Khushi Mohammad

On June 23, 1933 Choudhary Khushi Mohammad who had worked in the State as Revenue Minister tried to settle the dispute between the religious leaders and between Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The Mirwaiz said that he was not prepared to accept the leadership of the Sheikh: "We were only two parties. A third new party organised by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah came into existence. The Sheikh's party is bent upon destroying my family."³¹ Choudhary Khushi Mohammad was not convinced

by such arguments. He held the Mirwaiz responsible for his own ruin. He made a terse but meaningful remark: "The Sheikh does not want to occupy any mosque."³² However, the dispute over the mosques was taken up and it was decided that each Mirwaiz should send a representative to attend a meeting to be held at the residence of Mirza Ghulam Mustafa on June 25, 1933. The representatives were authorised to consult the documents of the Mirwaizes and report to Choudhary Khushi Mohammad. The meeting was held according to the schedule. It was followed by another meeting on 26th of June under the presidentship of Choudhary Khushi Mohammad. Two conditions were placed before the meeting by Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah:³³

First, the members of the Azad Muslim Conference should be included in the Committee for Conciliation.

Secondly, the decision of the Committee for Conciliation was acceptable to the Mirwaiz on the condition that the Muslim Conference was disbanded first.

But the terms were unacceptable to Choudhary Khushi Mohammad. He blamed Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah for the disintegration of the Muslim community in the State. Choudhary Khushi Mohammad having failed to bring about conciliation between the two parties, the effort was then revived by Wajahat Hussain who was at that time Home Minister in the State.

Wajahat Hussain's Efforts for Conciliation between the Sheikh and the Mirwaiz

On June 27, 1933 a meeting for conciliation was held, as desired by Wajahat Hussain, at the residence of Syed Hussain. Besides the Kashmiri leaders, the meeting was attended by Choudhary Khushi Mohammad, Munshi Siraj-ud-Din, Mohammad-Din-Fauq and Professor Alim-ud-Din. Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah who had been invited did not attend. He was later on forced to attend the meeting. The meeting discussed the various dimensions of the problem of factionalism among the Muslims. As there was no agreement between the members of the two

parties to iron out their differences, the meeting proved inconclusive.³⁴ Wajahat Hussain's hopes were thus frustrated.

Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal's Appeal to the Muslims of Kashmir

In the middle of May, 1933 when the city was seething with factional disturbances, Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal was telegraphically informed by some people to visit Kashmir and see things for himself.³⁵ Dr. Iqbal was also contemplating to visit Kashmir. But on June 28, 1933 the State Government "decided not to allow Mohammad Iqbal to come".³⁶ On June 29, a joint appeal by Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Syed Mohsin Shah was published and posted at various places in the city. The appeal advised the Muslims to refrain from mutual strifes.³⁷ On the same day, Mr. Syed Hussain issued an order that a Committee would be appointed for conciliation between the two parties to discourage outside intervention in the internal affairs of the State. But before the Committee could be constituted, the Government, on June 29, 1933 prohibited Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah from preaching in the shrine of Hazrat-i-Naqshband.³⁸ Meanwhile the inhabitants of Hazratbal also sent an application to the authorities, requesting that the Mirwaiz should not be permitted to preach in the Hazratbal shrine.³⁹ In spite of his insistence to preach in the mosques, the Mirwaiz was served with a Government notice "forbidding him also from preaching in the mosque of Hazratbal which he obeyed".⁴⁰ This sent a wave of resentment among his followers. They imputed the Government action to the question of conciliation. They put up posters stating that no conciliation was possible without Gauhar Rehman and Allah Rakha Sagar's participation in discussions on conciliation between the parties.⁴¹ The Azad Muslim Conference Party also condemned the Government for its failure to maintain law and order in the State and passed a resolution, requesting the Government to restore the right of preaching to Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah according to the established rules and regulations.⁴² The Mirwaiz held Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah responsible for having created dissensions between the two Mirwaizes. Moulvi Qawam-ud-Din characterised the followers of the Sheikh as the new thieves of religion who

like Shamas Iraqi wanted to spread religion in the guise of politics.⁴³ These statements of the Mirwaiz and his party men only increased the hostility between his followers and the Sheikh's.

Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah's Offer of Cooperation to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

On August 9, 1933 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from the prison. In the meanwhile a few sincere persons from among Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah's party prevailed upon the Moulvi to extend his hand of cooperation to the Sheikh so that the factionalism among the Muslims was brought to an end. Accordingly, the Mirwaiz sent Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl and Khwaja Mohammad Abdullah Basu with a letter to the Sheikh offering his hand of cooperation. The deputationists were told by the Sheikh that if Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah realised his mistakes, he would be forgiven. As for the letter, the Sheikh said that the letter was lengthy, so it would be placed before the Working Committee of the Conference Party. The matter ended there.⁴⁴ The deputationists left disappointed.

Appointment of a Committee by the Maharaja for the Settlement of Dispute Between the Two Mirwaizes

The Government was very anxious to see peace and order maintained in the State. For this purpose an official announcement was made on August 23, 1933 that the Maharaja had appointed a committee to settle the dispute regarding the distribution of mosques between the two Mirwaizes. The official members of the Committee were Sir Bajor Dalal (Chairman), Mr. Wajahat Hussain, the Home Minister and Nawab Khusroa Jung, the Minister-in-Waiting. Four unofficial members were to be nominated by the two Mirwaizes. The committee could not function because Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah refused to send his representatives to the Committee and cooperate with it. He declared that there existed no dispute between the two Mirwaizes. The real dispute was between him and the Sheikh. He reiterated his erstwhile statement that "if the Ahmadiyas were ex-

pelled from the Muslim Conference, then there remained no dispute with the Sheikh.⁴⁵ Similar views were expressed by his two trusted lieutenants, Munshi Ghulam Mohammad and Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubarak. The Mirwaiz was not in a mood of any compromise with the Sheikh and the Muslim Conference. On the contrary, he was adamant to continue with his own line of action. His separation was confirmed on July 28, 1933 when the "first issue of *the Islam*, official organ of his Azad Party was published".⁴⁶ On August 27, 1933 the Mirwaiz announced the aims, objects and the future programme of the Azad Muslim Conference. He said:⁴⁷

"We support the demands presented by the Muslims to the ruler. Our demands are even more than those already submitted. We have organised the Azad Party. We have organised the volunteers corps for the service of the country, its people and the ruler. These volunteers are scouts. The Azad Party will fight for the achievement of the demands which have not yet been granted."

First Annual Session of the Azad Muslim Conference

The first annual session of the Azad Muslim Conference was held on October 31, 1933 at the Jamia Masjid, Srinagar. It was spectacular. Thousands of the followers of the Mirwaiz, both men and women, participated. Speeches were made in justification of a separate Muslim Organisation. All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was criticised as a "body of reactionaries who fought for the aggrandisement of their own selfish interests".⁴⁸

The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Reaction Against the Azad Party

In order to show down the Azad Party, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in Srinagar tried to divert the attention of the people from it by establishing an association called "the Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi Itihad-i-Muslimin".⁴⁹ The association held seminars on problems of artisans, labourers and writers.

These seminars helped the Muslim Conference in its activities of diverting the attention of the people from the Azad Party. It also helped the Muslim Conference in its activities for peace and unity among the Muslims. But no significant breakthrough was achieved as a considerable section of the city Muslims led by the Mirwaiz had drifted away from the mainstream of the movement. The gap between the Sheikh and the Mirwaiz became unbridgeable. Henceforth the two leaders followed their own separate line of action.

Assessment

The factional groupism among the Muslims was confined to the city of Srinagar. It had no impact on the people living in villages and towns. In the beginning the birth of the Azad Muslim Conference showed that it would soon grow popular with the masses. But immediately after its first annual session was over, it grew weak on account of the dissensions and factional quarrels between the followers of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah. The Sheikh was not, however, daunted by the birth of the Azad Party. He exposed the Mirwaiz in public. He said:⁵⁰

“We had laid a garden, hoping that all of us would work together as its gardeners and protect this garden jointly. But Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah organised a parallel political party. He wants to destroy this garden. God willing, so long as I am alive I shall not permit anybody to destroy it...”

The Sheikh not only opposed and exposed the Mirwaiz for destroying the unity among the Muslims but he equally warned the Pandits who were a party to these unhealthy developments in the State politics.

Even Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal was not happy with the factional character of the Muslim politics in Kashmir. For him, “Unity is the only way through which you can achieve your political and social ends”.^{50a} In an appeal to the Muslims of Kashmir, he said:

"I appeal to Muslims of Kashmir to beware of the forces that are working against them and to unite their ranks. The time for two or three Muslim political parties in Kashmir has not yet come. The supreme need of the moment is a single party representing all Muslims in the State. If perfect unanimity of political opinion is not secured in Kashmir, all the interests of the people of the State will prove ineffective."⁵⁰

Role of the Pandits in Muslim Factionalism and the Sheikh's Warning

The factional groupism among the Muslims was exploited by the Pandits to the disadvantage of the mass movement led by the Muslims. In order to weaken the movement which was thought by them was a communal movement, the leaders of the Pandit community allied themselves with Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah "in order to bring the Sheikh down and disgrace him".⁵¹ They made secret contacts with some leading Muslim men of influence and supporters of the Mirwaiz such as Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Assad-Ullah Vakil, etc.,⁵² and held clandestine meetings with the Mirwaiz, insinuating that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in collaboration with the Ahmadivas was scheming to deprive him even of his religious leadership. Seeds of discord were thus sown among the Muslims. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah did not remain a silent spectator. He warned the Pandits to shun hostility against the movement. In a speech at Amirakadal on February 27, 1933, he said:⁵³

"During the last agitation our Hindu brethren opposed our movement. It is better for them to join us or at least refrain from opposing this movement."

The Sheikh after analysing the political developments appreciated the attitude of the Pandits from a realistic point of view. To him it was the capitalists among the non-Muslims who had been exploiting the common Hindus and working against the interests of the masses. He warned them against their conspiratorial habits.⁵⁴ He used personal influence to make the

Pandit leaders understand the real purpose of the movement. On May 7, 1933 he went personally to attend a meeting of the Pandits at the residence of Pandit Tara Chand Trisal, where he advised them to be neutral towards the movement. On May 9, he repeated the advice at a meeting held at the Pather Masjid. He said:⁵⁵

"The Pandits should neither come to me nor should they go to see Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah. Both of us are at variance with each other. The Pandits must adopt an attitude of neutrality."

However, these warnings, pleas and requests proved of no avail. Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and the Pandit leaders continued to meet clandestinely from time to time, helping only to create wider differences between the Sheikh and the Mirwaiz.

On July 24, 1933 a joint meeting of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and the Pandits took place at the Mirwaiz Manzil. Among the Pandits present were Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, Pandit Tara Chand Trisal. Pandit Sona Kaul Madan, Pandit Dina Nath Bazaz and Pandit Prem Nath Kana. The meeting was held to consider the question of release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his political workers, serving then their term of prison. A decision was taken that the Government be requested not to release the Sheikh until peace was guaranteed to the peace-loving citizens in the State.⁵⁶ This decision was made public by Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah and his Party at the Jamia Masjid on July 26, 1933. In a resolution passed, the Government was requested to take measures for the restoration of law and order in the State. It was now clear that the Pandits were equally responsible for dissensions among the Muslims.

Factional groupism among the Muslims, the reactionary attitude of the non-Muslims towards the Muslims and forces of religiosity, especially the Ahmadiyas and Mirwaiz Hamadani who were controversial elements in the Muslim Conference Party, had posed a serious threat to the movement. It was on this point that the young Muslim radicals came to the fore to save the movement from further disintegration.

Birth of Radicalism Among Muslims

Radicalism in the Muslim politics emerged as a result of efforts made by a section of the Muslim Conference leaders with leftist leanings in a bid to save the movement from forces of disintegration. Believing primarily in fundamental changes both in politics and social relations, this group of radicals rallied together under the Young Men's Muslim Association. For them the economic emancipation was a fundamental pre-requisite of political freedom. They were anti-imperialism. They believed in the fundamental unity among men irrespective of caste, creed and religion. They were votaries of Hindu-Muslim unity. Their activities were based on these very principles.

Impact of Ahrars on Young Men

There was a definite influence of Ahrars on the thinking of the young Muslim radicals. This influence took concrete shape in 1934, when several leaders of the Young Men's Muslim Association were exiled from the State for their agitational activities. The exiled leaders went to Lahore where they were received by the Majlis-i-Ahrar led by Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhyanvi and was under the control of nationalist Muslims. The Majlis had resolved on the following two ventures:

- (i) To intensify propaganda among migrated Kashmiris;⁵⁷ and
- (ii) To prevent the Kashmir agitation from becoming a Hindu-Muslim question and to convert it into an agitation against Colonel Colvin and the British Government and not against the Hindu ruler of Kashmir. Under this new line of approach to Kashmir politics, the Ahrar Party succeeded in "persuading various political groups in Kashmir and Jammu to sink their differences and to work on the programme prepared by the Ahrars".⁵⁸

The programme prepared by the Ahrar Party included a demand for representative Legislative Assembly in the State

accompanied by propaganda to the same end in the Punjab. This programme was carried by the Young Men's Muslim Association from 1934 onwards. Influenced by this approach the exiled leaders in Lahore decided to redirect the Kashmir movement on anti-imperialistic, nationalistic and secularistic lines.

Anti-Imperialistic, Nationalistic and Secular Role of Young Men

During the agitation in 1934, the Young Men became very popular with the masses. They preached extremism and anti-imperialism in Kashmir. This new approach to politics was a great contribution made by the young Muslim radicals to the movement in Kashmir. On March 2, 1934 Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Kara and Mohammad Yousuf Quraishi warned the British Government that in case the demands of the Young Men were not conceded, "they will start an agitation similar to French Revolution in Kashmir".⁵⁹

The nationalistic and secular ideas were emphatically preached in the Kashmir politics by the young radicals. Looked at from a secular point of view, the movement was now a fight against exploiters and oppressors. In this struggle there was no discrimination between man and man on the basis of religion, caste and creed. The movement as envisaged by the Young Men was not against "any particular individual or a community. It is a movement for the emancipation of all the oppressed".⁶⁰ The movement was the people's movement who were "arrayed against oppressors and exploiters irrespective of religion or community".⁶¹ In its wider dimensions, the secular character of the movement was explained thus:

"This movement is not and can never be against the non-Muslims. The slogans such as Nahra-i-Takbir or Nahra-i-Hydari should not be taken to mean that we are thinking on communal lines or, God forbid, that we have to destroy our Hindu brethren. What we want is to snatch our rights from the oppressors. This is the resultant. Those who believe in it should join our movement and cooperate with us."⁶²

Again,

"If there are any victims of oppression among non-Muslims, they should join this movement so that we are helped in abolishing tyranny and oppression", said Ahmad Syed Quraishi.⁶³

This was a new approach altogether, an approach that was going to lead the movement towards a new direction. It was this awareness, which was reflected by Sadar-ud-Din Mujahid at Khanqah-i-Mualla on April 16, 1934.⁶⁴

"...You will see what course our freedom struggle takes in the near future. The Ahrars are ready to help us. We are waiting only for the directions from Sher-i-Kashmir."

The Young Men's agitation revolutionised the freedom movement to the extent that the Muslim Conference lost almost its grip on it. Alive to this development, the Working Committee of the Party compelled the Conference to suspend its own Constitution, appointing in its place Choudhary Ghulam Abbas as the Dictator to see redressal of grievances of the Muslims either by correspondence with the Government or by launching a movement of civil disobedience.⁶⁵ A memorandum demanding a joint electorate and the Legislative Assembly and the establishment of a responsible Government in the State was prepared by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas in consultation with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, and was presented to the Government. As the memorandum was not favourably considered, a clash became inevitable. The civil disobedience was launched. The Government moved immediately to crush the movement, arresting the leaders of the Young Men's Muslim Association and the Muslim Conference.

Impact of the Young Men's Agitation

The agitation launched by the young radicals of the Muslim Conference Party was an important event in the history of freedom struggle in Kashmir. Their agitation had a tremendous

impact on the Muslim Conference organisation as well as on the non-Muslims. In the beginning the Young Men's agitation was opposed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who had "expressed his unconcern with the agitation".⁶⁶ But the popularity of the Young Men, their revolutionary role and progressive outlook soon convinced him that there was no alternative but to own the agitation. Its net result was that the Muslim Conference adopted the programme which the Young Men had already framed for shaping the movement. The Young Men reiterated their faith in the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Muslim Conference Organisation. Henceforth these Young radicals formed a strong left-wing force within the Muslim Conference.

The revolutionary, secular and nationalistic role of the young Muslim radicals had convinced a small section of the non-Muslim communities that the movement could be started jointly by the Hindus and the Muslims. But they were indifferent to join the movement so long as it remained, according to them, based on communal character. They contended that a truly secular and national movement could be started if the Muslims were prepared to change their Muslim Conference into a national body and throw open its platform to non-Muslims also. They put forward various arguments for this changeover on political and economic grounds.

Political Grounds

The propounder of the view that a national body and common platform were the pre-requisite for a secular and national movement, was Sardar Budh Singh. The objective of a united social and political organisation in the State could be achieved only when the differences between all Hindus, Muslims and Sheikhs were eradicated. The Sardar reiterated his appeal that "if the people of a country are not united, if they have no capacity for patriotism, no faith in justice and human sympathy and service to mankind, it is very difficult for such people to become a prosperous nation".⁶⁷ He appealed off and on to all God-fearing people belonging to any religion or faith to a conference for devising ways and means to render service to the

nation. "The real character of the people", he said, "lay in their united thought, work and deed."

In 1938 the leaders of the Muslim Conference had almost agreed to change the name of their organisation but the matter had to be postponed because of certain constitutional provisions barring non-Muslim membership in the organisation. Commenting on this, Sardar Budh Singh said:⁶⁸

"Let me venture to repeat that it is impossible to achieve success in securing political freedom and economic advancement to all sections of the people unless and until some special national body is established for performing this task. There is no hope of any unity and cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims unless and until the Muslim Conference is changed into a national body. The more the delay is caused in this work, the farther shall we remain from our destination."

Economic Grounds

Another argument advanced by non-Muslims for the establishment of a common national platform was based on economic grounds. They were now convinced that it was only the economic conditions of the people which mattered most in the life of a nation. Religion, caste and creed were only the obstacles in the way of a country's progress. These views gained ground among non-Muslims after 1935. In one of his leading articles, Lala Girdhari Lal Anand wrote:⁶⁹

"The economic evil is spread over the State and surrounds the people like gathering clouds. The trade and industry are extinct. The business is sacrificed at the altar of the market slump. The condition of the peasantry is unpleasant. The deficiency in the State treasury has astounded and perplexed the people of the country. But the ruler is anxious to fill his coffers for meeting his own expenses. . . the State goes on increasing the burden on taxes on the people."

Exposing the real character of the Dogra rule, Lala Girdhari

Lal Anand cautioned the people of the evil consequences of the "divide and rule" policy of the Government. He wrote:⁷⁰

"The greatest need of the time in the present economic miseries and helplessness of the people is to lay a strong foundation of a society that will represent equally all the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh subjects of the State and in which all are rid of the evils which attend the Government's policy of divide and rule."

The Muslim Conference was aware of the aspirations of the foresighted non-Muslims, though small in number, for rechristening the movement on national and secular lines. But the problem of conversion was not all that easy. There were many difficulties besetting the leaders. This change involved problem of educating the Muslim masses on its wider implications. It meant a total change. Aside from this great task, there were several elements within the Muslim Conference who were not agreeable to such a change, at least not all too soon. The Ahmadiyas and Mirwaiz Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Hamadani were controversial elements in the party. The party was to be purged of these elements first so that the change could be effected without any let or hindrance. These were the major issues which were settled gradually and cautiously by the leaders. The first task before the Party was to expel the Ahmadiya members from the organisation so that they did not stand in the way of throwing open the organisation to the non-Muslims in future. This task was performed by the radical forces of the Muslim Conference.

Expulsion of the Ahmadiyas from the Muslim Conference

The Ahmadiyas who had played a vitally important role in organising the movement in the initial stages became ultimately a source of controversy in the organisation itself. The non-Muslims held them responsible for creating elements of revolution in the State against its ruler. Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah also held them responsible for discrediting his person and profession. The Ahrarites could never compromise with

them. All these factors worked against them, ultimately leading to their exit from the Muslim Conference. Several times they were saved by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah from adverse situations created for them both inside and outside the organisation. From 1933 onwards the Ahmadiyas began to be opposed openly. By the end of 1936 they had completely been routed and expelled from the Conference. There were several factors responsible for their exit:

- (i) Many political workers complained that the Ahmadiyas had assumed a position of dominance over the organisational work of the Muslim Conference and in the conduct and guidance of the movement. They also complained that "there was no proper distribution of work"⁷¹ because of this domination.
- (ii) It was generally thought that the Ahmadiyas were more concerned with their missionary work than with the political interests of the Muslims of Kashmir and, for this purpose, "they had an efficient missionary organisation working in Kashmir".⁷² They had also established a Muslim Uplift Association⁷³ with the object of propagating the Ahmadiya faith among the Muslims.
- (iii) The Ahmadiyas had become an element of controversy in the Muslim Conference. The general opinion was that it was because of them that factionalism took birth in Kashmir politics, creating schism among the Muslims. Their continued existence in the Conference was, therefore, thought detrimental for the movement.

These were the considerations which led most of the members of the organisation to think in terms of freeing the Organisation from the Ahmadiya membership. Besides, while Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah had been openly opposing the Ahmadiyas since the very beginning of the movement, the rivalry between the leftist elements and the Ahmadiyas within the party was latent. This rivalry took its concrete form in August, 1932 when Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Pir Najam-ud-Din and some of the educated

Muslims formed an association called "Khudam-i-Khalq-Allah" parallel to the Muslim Uplift Association of the Ahmadiyas. The aim of this association was to divert the attention of the Muslim from the Muslim Uplift Association, and thus forestall their conversion to the Ahmadiya faith. The association also published a newspaper, "The Jehangir" which became the mouthpiece of the association against the Ahmadiyas. So far the opposition to the Ahmadiyas came from outside the Conference.

During Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's term in prison in 1932, the opposition against the Ahmadiyas began coming from within the organisation itself. The members having leftist leanings exploited the Ahmadiyas' issue in Kashmir politics with the aim to bring them to the discredit of the people so that they were deprived of their position in the organisation. There was another wave of opposition against the Ahmadiyas at the second annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference held at Mirpur in 1933. This time it was an issue pertaining to the audit of the organisation funds. An Ahmadiya Member in collaboration with a few other members accused Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. Andrabi and Mohammad Maqbool Bihaqqi of embezzling the funds. In the Subjects Committee a heated discussion took place between Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and an Ahmadiya member, Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar. The situation was, however, saved from becoming worse by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's timely intervention.⁷⁴ It was here that the process of the Ahmadiyas' elimination from the Muslim Conference started. This process showed its results at the time when elections to the Working Committee and the General Council took place. As a result, only one Ahmadiya member was elected to the Working Committee and Mr. Mohammad Ayub Sabir (another Ahmadiya) and a few of his sympathisers to the General Council.

By the end of 1934, the leftist forces had gathered strength and struck firm roots in the Organisation. The Muslim Conference had also acknowledged the existence of the Young Men's Association and its role as a great contribution to the movement. Even Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the leader of the Muslim Conference, was led into the anti-Ahmadiya camp. In 1935, the Sheikh openly accused them of having conspired

against him and held them responsible for his arrest.⁷⁵ Thereupon the Ahmadiyas levelled counter-charges against the Sheikh. A campaign of charges and counter-charges went on for some time. Most of the members feared further disintegration of the organisation. To set matter right, Professor Alim-ud-Din Salik was chosen to arbitrate between the Sheikh and the Ahmadiyas.

As a result of the meeting which was held on June 28, 1935 at the residence of one Mama Kundangar at Daribal,⁷⁶ the Ahmadiyas were found accused of having created dissensions among the Muslims and in the Muslim Conference by misusing their position. Two important issues came to light at the meeting:⁷⁷

First, that Moulvi Mohammad Abdulla Vakil and Ghulam Nabi Gilkar used to be engaged in the missionary activities of propagating the Ahmadiya faith in Kashmir.

Secondly, the Ahmadiya members accused their arch enemies Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad of having entered into league with the Indian National Congress against the interests of the Muslim Conference. They also charged the two leaders on ground that they worked in the movement under the directions of the Ahrars.

The findings of the meeting were announced to the public at a meeting held at the Pather Masjid. Professor Alim-ud-Din Salik held the Ahmadiyas responsible for having damaged the movement. He announced that it was better for Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil to be separate from the movement.⁷⁸ This caused a great resentment among the masses against the Ahmadiyas. The fear of the mass resentment and the growing hostility of the leftist group in the Muslim Conference led the erstwhile stalwart of freedom movement, Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, to resign from the Conference in 1936. His exit was soon followed by other Ahmadiya members. After their exit from the Muslim Conference, the Ahmadiyas could not muster strength to stand again. They were not even allowed by the Government to hold any public or private meetings for fear that such meetings would disturb peace in

the State as the masses were against the Ahmadiyas' political activities.⁷⁹ Thus the organisation of the Muslim Conference was purged of the Ahmadiyas.

Mirwaiz Hamadani's Exit from the Muslim Conference

Mirwaiz Moulvi Ghulam Nabi Hamadani who had joined the movement to support Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in 1931 began to differ with him in 1936. The Mirwaiz's differences came to light at the time when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the leftist forces in the Muslim Conference began to preach nationalism in Kashmir. By 1936, the leftists were in a strong position to control the organisation, and were out to see all the elements of controversy among the Muslims eliminated from the Conference. The dominant position of the leftist dwindled the political importance of the Mirwaiz in the light of new dimensions of secular and national politics which the movement had begun to assume. The Mirwaiz was not personally prepared for the change. He began to criticise the Muslim Conference leaders in general and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in particular on the ground that he (the Mirwaiz) was not given a place and position which he deserved in the organisation in view of the sacrifices made by his father for the cause of the movement.⁸⁰ The other reasons which led him to differ from the Sheikh were given by the Mirwaiz as under:⁸¹

- (i) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, puffed with power, had become haughty. He did not care for anybody and tried to disgrace even an ordinary critic or opponent on grounds of false accusations of his own creation.
- (ii) The nationalism which he preached was his own personal view. He wanted the other members of the Muslim Conference to accept nationalism against their will. Those who opposed him on this issue were held back by threatening and his own personal influence.
- (iii) With regard to the Ahmadiyas, the Mirwaiz refuted the allegation by the Sheikh that he (the Mirwaiz) was the supporter of the Ahmadiyas. It was premature,

the Mirwaiz said, to call the Ahmadiyas traitors. Commenting on this issue, he said:⁸²

"The attitude of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah indicated that I should have become his yes-man, and without any reason should have opposed the Ahmadiyas. To me the Sheikh's opposition to the Ahmadiyas is his individual affair and his fight against them an individual struggle. The Conference has nothing to do with it. The Conference should present its point of view to the people for information, or else it is essential to hold the Sheikh back from such activities. By such performances the Muslim Conference has been turned from democratic organisation into a dictatorship."

- (iv) The last argument advanced by Mirwaiz Hamadani against the Sheikh related to the Relief Funds of the Muslim Conference. The Mirwaiz's contention was that there was general impression among the people that the funds had been embezzled. The Mirwaiz wanted the Muslim Conference to publish the accounts of the Conference so that the public was assured that the funds had been properly utilized.

The above arguments were not totally mere surmises. There was some truth in them. For example, the question of embezzling the Conference funds by the political workers was often raised and those who wanted to check the accounts were never satisfied. Similarly the advocacy of nationalism was thought in some circles of the Muslim Conference to be Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's own line of thinking. But the Sheikh did not attach any importance to them. That is why the Mirwaiz's opposition to the Conference and the Sheikh was not cared about. He was, on the contrary, opposed both in private and public meetings and was often warned against indulging in any kind of anti-Conference activity. Referring to the Mirwaiz, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:⁸³

"Those...who want to fight us should come in the open field. Our guns will tear them into pieces."

The guns were the people who could be easily employed by their hero, the Sheikh. The fear of the people's wrath was sufficient to make the Mirwaiz face his exit quietly from the Conference in 1937. After the expulsion of the Ahmadiyas and the Mirwaiz, the Muslim Conference applied itself to secularising the movement.

Towards Secularisation of Politics

One of the dark sides of the freedom movement was the communal strifes between Hindus and Muslims on several occasions. Disputes between the two communities about religious places which remained unresolved for a long time, had created a wedge between them.⁸⁴ The political agitation naturally added to the bitterness between them. However, secularism and traditional brotherhood for which Kashmir has been known from time immemorial, were not wholly absent even under these conditions. Whenever the Hindu-Muslim riots erupted, leaders, of both the communities, forgetting for the time being their political differences, joined hands together to restore cordial relations. Even rival elements among the Muslims were seen together on the same platform preaching the Hindu-Muslim unity. Such efforts went a long way in future towards bringing the two communities together for a joint and united struggle. It may not be out of place to mention here the early efforts made by the leaders of the different communities for bringing about cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims.

Early Unity Meetings

Sardar Budh Singh was the first non-Muslim who was in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity for the healthy growth and progress of the people. In July 1932 he made attempts to bring the different communities closer. He was invited to a religious function celebrated by the Muslims at the Pather Masjid, in connection with the birth day of Prophet Mohammad. The

Sardar delivered an impressive speech on Islam, and spoke of the benefits of Hindu-Muslim unity. On July 12, 1932 "Sardar Budh Singh participated in the meeting convened by the Sahayak Sabha at Amirakadal. He tried his best to bring about peace between the Kashmiri Pandits and muslims."⁸⁵

Role of Sikh Gobind Sabha, Srinagar

The Sikh Gobind Sabha, Srinagar, played an important role during the Hindu-Muslim quarrels in September, 1932. On September 22, when the school boys took out a procession to celebrate Health Week in the city, there arose a quarrel between the two communities at Kani Kadal. Soon other localities were involved. There was loss of life and property on both the sides. Great tension prevailed in the entire city. At this time, the Sikh Gobind Sabha called an emergency meeting and took the decision that without wasting a single minute "they should bring Hindus and Muslims together in peace and unity".⁸⁶ A deputation of five members was appointed for the purpose. The deputation met the leaders of both the communities and made them agree to live in peace and unity. A unity meeting was held at Rishi Mohalla, Habbakadal, Srinagar. The meeting was attended by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Pandit Kashyapbandhu, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam and others. All these leaders delivered speeches in favour of the Hindu-Muslim unity. In the evening a joint procession of Hindus and Muslims was taken out from Goal Bagh which marched through various routes in the city,⁸⁷ and presented a good example of Hindu-Muslim harmony. Another Hindu-Muslim Unity meeting was held at Idgah on September 30, 1932. Both Hindu and Muslim leaders delivered speeches at this meeting, urging upon the people to live in peace and love with one another. Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah spoke in favour of a joint political action. At the end of the meeting a Conciliation Board was constituted with Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, Sher Ali, Mir Maqbool, Pandit Kashyapbandhu, Pandit Razdan, Pandit Tarachand Trisal, Pandit Anand Kaul Bamzai as its members.⁸⁸ The Board was constituted to investigate into the losses and damages suffered

by Hindus and Muslims during the disturbances and to offer compensation to the sufferers. The Board opened "Fasadat-i-Kashmir Relief Fund"⁸⁹ with the Lloyds Bank, Srinagar. The losses suffered were to the tune of one lakh rupees. The Board issued an appeal on March 9, 1933, addressed to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, requesting both the communities to contribute wholeheartedly to the Relief Fund. Both the communities were at the same time told not to nourish any ill-will against one another; that their real progress depended on peace and amity. The signatories to the appeal hoped that "this unity will result in future into stronger and more durable ties of intimacy and closeness between Hindus and Muslims than before."⁹⁰ These unity meetings did not go in vain. They had a beneficial effect on the relations between the two communities.

Annual Function of Khanqah Middle School

The annual function of Khanqah Middle School was held on October 2, 1932. The function was presided over by the Home Minister, Mr. Wajahat Hussain. Prominent Pandit leaders were also invited. Pandit Kashayapbandhu, Jia Lal Kilam and Tarachand Trisal delivered speeches, urging upon the need for Hindu-Muslim cooperation. Pandit Kashyapbandhu drew the attention of the Muslims to the importance of education and cleanliness. He also advised them to observe reform in social functions.⁹¹ Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil said, "Everlasting peace is possible only when one does not interfere with the rights of others."⁹²

Political and Social Conference of Hindus

Similar sentiments were expressed at the inaugural function of the Political and Social Conference of the Kashmir Pandits held on October 29, 1932 at Sheetalnath. Many Muslim leaders were invited to attend. In a speech delivered on the occasion, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah repeated his faith in Hindu-Muslim unity. Slogans "Long Live Hindu-Muslim Unity" and "Long Live Sher-i-Kashmir" were shouted at the

meeting.⁹³ This happy development influenced some non-Muslims in the Jammu province. Through the joint endeavours of both the communities, Choudhary Giyan Mirpuri came out in December 1932 with a statement supporting the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Giyan Chand's Views on Hindu-Muslim Unity

Giyan Chand Mirpuri had to his credit a long experience of public life. A votary of Hindu-Muslim unity, he said:⁹⁴

"...If Hindus and Muslims cannot learn to live in cooperation and protect their mutual legitimate rights, it is very difficult, if not impossible, for them to make any kind of progress. If Hindus nourish this idea in their mind that by dint of their wealth and education they can keep Muslims under the bondage of slavery, they are quite wrong in their thinking. They must know that the question of rich and poor, haves and have-nots is being discussed all over the world on principles of equality. Similarly, if those Muslims who think that their numerical strength in the State can forcefully destroy the Hindus, they too are labouring under a great illusion."

The Chaudhary made an appeal, in the name of justice and mercy, to the leaders of all the communities to divert their energies to the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity and to "find out immediate solution to the problems of unemployment and poverty of the masses".⁹⁵

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Statement

In his press interview to the correspondent of the *Ranbir* in October, 1932, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:⁹⁶

"I have been extremely grieved at the quarrels which occurred between Hindus and Muslims on 22nd September, 1932 in Srinagar. By their behaviour they have not shown any sign of civic life. Their action is abominable. I am, however, happy to see that they have obeyed my appeal and have

bid good-bye to their quarrels. I shall once again make an appeal to Hindus and Muslims that they should promote brotherly relations among themselves and remain cautious in future."

These efforts for unity proved a healthy development in the improvement of Hindu-Muslim relations. The Pandits of Rainawari, Srinagar, arranged on October 3, 1932 a tea party in honour of Muslim leaders. The party was attended "by fifty Muslims and fifty Hindus. The Muslim representatives included, among others, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Assad-Ullah Munshi and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Kashyapbandhu and Jia Lal Kilam spoke of Hindu-Muslim unity...Similarly, the Pandits of Dabag Mohalla collected money by contribution and served a dinner party to their Muslim neighbours".⁹⁷ In the same way, the Muslims collected funds and gave the money to their Hindu brethren living in their neighbourhood for the repairs of a dilapidated temple.⁹⁸ Even the most crucial issues of conflict existing between the two communities were handled peacefully and with mutual understanding. Thus, when there occurred a dispute about two religious places, one at Nagbal (Anantnag) and the other at Chattabal (Srinagar), the President of the Conciliation Board, Pandit Tarachand Trisal, appealed to all communities to maintain peace and goodwill among themselves. He urged upon the people not to allow communal virus to infect their normal relations. The Young Men's Association of Kashmir Pandits called a meeting at which it was decided that the matter should be handed over to the Conciliation Board. The Association also passed a resolution that "the canker of communalism should as far as possible be prevented from spreading any further".⁹⁹

The primary purpose of promoting cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims and of preventing the canker of communalism from becoming a permanent feature in their social relations was appreciably served by these early unity meetings. Beyond this they could not serve any purpose. In matters of politics the two communities remained poles asunder. But it can be said in fairness to the sponsors of these early unity meetings that these provided the basis on which a joint political endea-

your could be made possible in future. Most of the leaders who participated in these meetings were to spearhead the movement when it was conducted on nationalistic lines. The unity meetings were, therefore, a healthy contribution to secular politics in Kashmir.

Contribution of the Young Men's Association to Secularism

The Young Men's Association played an important role in the growth and development of secular politics in Kashmir. Their agitation was a contributory factor in turning the Muslim Conference into National Conference. Some progressive-minded Hindus who were influenced by the Young Men's ideology, presented Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah with an address at a unity meeting held in this regard on August 15, 1933 at Hazuribagh. The address praised the Sheikh for his sacrifices made for the achievement of freedom in Kashmir. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz spoke of the need "for preparing the public opinion for the new demands".¹⁰⁰

In his reply to the address the Sheikh said:¹⁰¹

"...My countrymen, I am very happy today to see that you have, after all, very correctly understood the inner desire of my [heart that, while my soul is restless for the attainment of national interest, I am also, at the same time, anxious to see Hindus and Muslims united. I am a Muslim by faith and consider Islam the only way to spiritual salvation. Islam teaches me that I should fight for the legitimate rights of my Hindu brethren in the same way as I do for my own co-religionists...and...that I should consider it my duty to protect their life and property. In short, in mundane relations, so far as my country is concerned, I should not discriminate between Muslims and non-Muslims..."

Again, on August 16, 1933 addressing a gathering of peasants at Ganderbal, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:¹⁰²

"...you should make discrimination between the oppressor

and the oppressed, not between a Hindu and a Muslim. It is true that the Hindus number more among oppressors, but it is also true that, like you, they have a majority of the poor and oppressed among themselves. It is, therefore, possible that our movement may, in turn, become a struggle of all the oppressed people."

By the beginning of 1935, the struggle for freedom in Kashmir had actually entered into a new phase. The demand for responsible Government based on the principles of democracy, secularism and nationalism became the main goal of the movement. Though some non-Muslims began to participate in the struggle, the Muslim Conference remained the focal point of the movement. The Conference became the chief sponsor of the change.

Muslim Conference—Advocacy for Secularism

The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah moved very cautiously and with measured steps to change the mass opinion of Muslims in favour of nationalism and secularism. The unity meetings, the revolutionary and secular role of the leftist forces within the Muslim Conference and the factional politics among the Muslims were contributory factors which led the leaders of the Conference to reshape the movement on national and secular lines. The first step in this direction was taken in March 1933 when the Working Committee of the Conference constituted a Sub-Committee to find out ways and means of uniting Hindus and Muslims. But nothing was done because the Sub-Committee could not function due to political disturbances. It was, however, here that "the idea of joint action in politics had taken birth".¹⁰³ In November, 1934 immediately after the third annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was over, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah went on a tour to the Punjab. For four months he stayed outside the State and during that period he had an exchange of ideas with the nationalist leaders of the Indian National Congress.¹⁰⁴ The outcome of this tour was the implementation of the programme of introducing nationalism into Kashmir politics. The first

move in this respect was the publication of a weekly journal entitled the "Hamdard".

Inauguration of the Hamdard

The inauguration of the *Hamdard*, a joint venture by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Prem Nath Bazaz, was performed by a well-known Congress leader Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchloo at Hazuribagh on August 3, 1935. The inauguration of the paper by Dr. Kitchloo served two purposes:

- (i) The Congress was introduced to people through the personal presence of Dr. Kitchloo whose mission was to introduce the policy and programme of Indian National Congress in Kashmir politics.
- (ii) The *Hamdard* was made the mouth-piece of this policy.

In his inaugural address Dr. Kitchloo acquainted the people with the underlying idea of the movement in the light of Congress ideological content. His main theme was that the people should fight for economic freedom which included the establishment of industries, development of trade and commerce and construction of means of communications, such as roads and routes. He ridiculed those who mixed politics with religion. He laid emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity. He said that the freedom struggle in Kashmir should be conducted against the British who were the main enemies of the people. These ideas inspired the Muslim conference and the emerging progressive forces. With regard to the majority and minority relations over political issues Dr. Kitchloo made it clear that "it was the duty of the Muslims being in majority in the state to win the confidence of minorities for the conduct of a successful movement".¹⁰⁵

So far as the journal "Hamdard" was concerned, it gained popularity in a very short time. Its policy was based on secular ideology and it helped in laying the foundation of progressive nationalism in Kashmir. The paper played a vital role in the development of democratic consciousness in the people irrespective of religion, caste and creed. It fought courageously against entire orthodoxy in whatever form it existed in the State. It also pre-

pared the people "for achieving the right of responsible Government in the State".¹⁰⁶

Muslim Conference, Advocacy for Responsible Government

The policy of a responsible form of Government as the political goal was officially adopted by Muslim Conference in 1934. By implication, the establishment of a truly democratic political system and a responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness was the only solution to all the troubles. In his presidential address of the third annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference held at Mirpur, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan said : ¹⁰⁷

"...I propose that all the elected members of the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly should, in view of the constitutional reforms to be introduced in British India in near future, prepare a draft of a Constitution which will be submitted to His Highness for his approval and with this bring to an end, for ever, the troubles faced both by the ruler and the ruled."

The Muslim Conference started a vigorous campaign of political propaganda in favour of responsible Government, preparing the public opinion for its acceptance. It had invited the non-Muslims also to join the movement but there was a scanty response from them. Choudhary Ghulam Abbas assured them about the aim of the movement :¹⁰⁸

...the struggle for the achievement of the rights of the Muslims had not been started with this aim that the Hindus would be deprived of their true and legitimate rights. The struggle for freedom was started to support and protect the rights of all the subjects of the State. As a result of this struggle, not only Muslims but also all other communities have equally been benefited. The reduction in water tax and grazing tax and the proprietary rights in land have equally been advantageous for the Muslim peasants as well as the non-Muslims. Similarly, the fruits of the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in the state and the freedom of press and platform, in

whatever degree, are equally reaped by both communities. It is true that in the achievement of these rights the Muslim community alone has suffered troubles and afflictions and the non-Muslims have only caused impediments in their way. But, ignoring the bitter past, I, on behalf of Muslims, appeal to my Hindu countrymen that they should cooperate with us. I assure them that Muslims do not want to usurp the legitimate rights of any community. A Muslim wants justice for every community in the same manner in which he wants for himself. Let us, therefore, join hands together and struggle for the emancipation of our country. I hope that, for the good of the country, the Hindu leaders will consider my appeal with courage and sincerity. They must rest assured that therein lies the betterment of their community.

Muslim Conference, Advocacy for Nationalism

From 1936, the Muslim Conference staunchly advocated nationalism and secularism. On May 8, 1936 when a Responsible Government Day was observed in the entire valley and a call given to non-Muslims to join the celebrations was not generally responded by them on the ground that they still doubted the character of the movement led by the Muslim Conference, the official organ of the Hindu Yuvak Sabha, "The Daily Martand", termed the Muslim Conference "an organisation of communalist Muslims which has come into existence for the protection of the Muslim rights. This organisation has been established with the idea of crushing the Hindus...It is therefore not expected of its members that they will allow this organisation to work, like the Indian National Congress, with tolerance and for the common cause of both the Hindus and Muslims. It is impossible to expect the members of the Muslim Conference to conduct a joint action until they sever connections from the Muslim Conference and establish a national body in its place..."¹⁰⁹ The Rajput Gazette wanted the question of responsible Government to be decided by the Maharaja because "in this lies our salvation and betterment".¹¹⁰ It was evident that the official policy of the Yuvak Sabha which commanded the majority of the Pandits, and other non-Muslims too, was not in favour of nationalism

and that its members had a soft corner for the Government which, as the non-Muslims always believed, would protect their communal interests. But a small number of intellectually advanced non-Muslims who had by now grasped the direction of the political wave responded to the appeal of the Muslim Conference to join the movement for responsible Government. Their participation, was, therefore, a great contribution to the growth and development of national politics at this stage. The imperative need for non-Muslims' participation was also felt by the Conference. The growing awareness of this need made it necessary that the Muslim Conference be transformed into a national body, and this presupposed that the concept and ideological content of nationalism be made known to the Muslim masses and that the movement be based purely on the economic content and the democratic outlook. The movement was to be brought to the level of Indian National Congress both ideologically and politically. This task became henceforth the main political activity of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the leftist forces among the ranks of the Conference. On March 26, 1938 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah declared in his presidential speech at the Sixth Annual Session of the Muslim Conference held at Jammu:¹¹¹

"Like us the large majority of Hindus and Sikhs in the State have immensely suffered at the hands of the irresponsible Government. They are also steeped in deep ignorance, have to pay large taxes and are in debt and are starving. Establishment of responsible Government is as much a necessity for them as for us. Sooner or later these people are to join our ranks. No amount of propaganda can keep them away from us."

The movement could not be put on national lines, argued Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, because "some sad happenings took place in the beginning of the movement in 1931 which, in turn, gave rise to certain misunderstandings between the Muslims".¹¹² The main cause of this was the doubt nourished by the non-Muslims that the movement led by the Muslims was a communal one. By 1936, the leaders of the Conference

removed this fear from the minds of the non-Muslims by preaching openly politics of nationalism. As a result, the progressive-minded Hindus actively participated in the movement. With their participation new emerging forces and trends took their birth in the Kashmir politics.

Emergence of New Progressive Forces

The emergence of new progressive forces in politics in 1936 was a healthy development in the growth of secularism. These progressive forces emanated from the leftist forces of both the communities, Muslims and non-Muslims. Though they were heterogeneous in composition, yet they formed, without any doubt, revolutionary cadre in the conduct of the movement on secular and nationalistic lines. The cause of their emergence as a new political force was the dissatisfaction and disappointment with the politics of their respective communities. The Muslim radicals and the non-Muslim progressives were convinced that the politics of their respective communities being middle class politics and factious in character was bound to hinder the brighter prospects of a successful movement in the State. The need of the time was, therefore, to change the direction of the movement from the middle-class-bourgeois nationalistic to socialistic character. In other words, the new thought demanded bringing the movement in line with the progressive socialist movements of the British Indian Provinces. The cumulative effect of these progressive movements had created socialistic tendencies and new organisational patterns resulting in the formation of the Youth League, the Labour Movement, the Peasants' Association, the Students' Federation, the Indian National Congress, and the Hindu Progressive Party. The most effective and decisive of all these organisations were the Kashmir Youth League, the Students' Federation, the Mazdoor Sabha and the Kisan Sabha.

Kashmir Youth League

The origin of the youth movement in Kashmir dates from 1907

when, in a general nationalist outburst following the partition of Bengal in 1905, the students of a Government College in Jammu collected subscription for the *Panjabee*, a paper connected with the student movement published in Lahore.¹¹³ Thereafter, the students became a force to be reckoned with. But their role was exploited by the leaders of their respective communities for either their own selfish interests or exclusively for their own communities. However, till 1936, no well-patterned Youth Movement under a set programme could come into existence.

The process of radicalisation in Kashmir politics led to the emergence of Kashmir Youth League in 1936. In fact, the League sprang up under the influence, guidance and direction of the leftist elements in the Muslim Conference trying, in combination with the progressive elements among the non-Muslims, to bring about radicalisation of the freedom movement in Kashmir. These radicals knew that the association of young elements with politics would make the movement more effective and that with the formation of an organisation of "young elements from all communities, professing different religions and belonging to different currents of thought and dedicated to the cause of the country,"¹¹⁴ the national revolution would be speedily led to a successful conclusion.

It was against this background that the Kashmir Youth League was organised by Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, who had received tacit consent of the Muslim radicals for the purpose. Its function was to fight for the achievement of the following:¹¹⁵

- (i) To organise young elements, both men and women, for service of the country;
- (ii) To fight by all legitimate means for the realisation of responsible Government for the State under the aegis of His Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur; and
- (iii) To work for the economic, social and cultural uplift of the people.

In order to become the member of the Kashmir Youth League, a person had to believe:

- (a) in the equality of all men living in the State;
- (b) in the thought that young blood could not be discriminated on grounds of religion or creed;
- (c) in the thought that their country was fit for responsible Government; and
- (d) that any young man or woman not less than eighteen years of age had to obey the orders of the Kashmir Youth League and fight firmly for the realization of the aims and objects of the League.

Within a short time of its birth, the League was supported by the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. By August, 1936 it had enrolled more than a hundred young men.¹¹⁶ The first annual session of the Kashmir Youth League was held on August 25, 1936 at Amirakadal under the presidentship of Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq. The meeting started with new slogans, such as "Long Live Youth League", "Long Live Young Men" and "Long Live our Motherland". The Muslim as well as non-Muslim leaders addressed the meeting and laid stress on the unity between Hindus and Muslims. The communalism in whatever form it existed was not only ridiculed but also thought harmful for the development of social growth. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:¹¹⁷

"The establishment of such an organisation as the Kashmir Youth League should have been started several years ago, but it could not be done because unfortunately differences due to misunderstanding had been created between Hindus and Muslims from the very beginning of the movement and the movement was termed a communal one. Thank God that we are now gradually coming out of the mire of communalism and treading the right path. The Muslims should particularly associate themselves with the Youth Movement. They are in a majority and have great responsibility which they have to shoulder when a responsible Government is established in the State, and for that, they have to win the confidence of minorities...The Muslim Conference looks with honour and respect at all such movements as are launched for national purpose...I am sure that we can achieve responsible

Government under the influence of the Youth League. I hope that Muslims will join this movement in great numbers."

Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz dwelt on the role of young men in the freedom struggle of different nations. One of the causes of Kashmir's poverty was, he said, the absence of an organised youth movement. He also held the people of Kashmir responsible for their own slavery. He said:¹¹⁸

"We are always deceived in the name of religion, and are involved in misunderstandings...The youth has been organised with the aim of fighting for establishment of a responsible Government in place of an irresponsible Government in the State."

The Operational Role of the Kashmir Youth League

Much credit goes to the operational role of the Kashmir Youth League in the development of secular politics in the State. In this regard, the League organised public meetings and processions and imparted nationalistically-oriented political education to the masses. The political activity of the League started for the establishment of a responsible Government. It also identified itself with the policy and programme of the Indian National Congress in its campaign against the establishment of federation under the Government of India Act 1935. On April, 1, 1937, the League organised an Anti-Federation Day in accordance with the programme of the Indian National Congress. On this day, a complete hartal was observed and a public meeting was held at which the federal scheme was vehemently criticised.¹¹⁹ On September 27, 1936 the Kashmir Youth celebrated the Palestine Day. A meeting was held at Amirakadal. Revolutionary slogans such as, "Long Live Jawaharlal Nehru" and "Long Live Kashmir Youth" were shouted with great enthusiasm and zeal. Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan and Choudhary Ghulam Abbas threw light on the history of Palestine Liberation movement and held the British imperialism responsible for the state of affairs in Palestine. In

the end Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made an impressive speech in which he proved that the liberation of Palestine was linked with and dependent on India's destiny, He said:¹²⁰

"The violence and oppression being exercised on the people in Palestine will continue so long as India remains a slave country and its people disunited. If we are united and free not only Palestine but the entire East will be free."

The emergence of Youth movement in Kashmir in 1936 was a significant contribution to the secular nationalism in the State. The Youth League not only took a leading part in influencing the people with nationalist outlook but also paved the way, organizationally and ideologically, for the appearance of socialistically-oriented cadres in Kashmir national freedom.

Student Organisations

Two student organisations, the Kashmir Students' Union and the Kashmir Students' Union League were in existence in 1935. They enrolled their membership from the college and school students. The Students' Union was more progressive than the Students' Union League. On November 1, 1936 the first Student Conference was held in the Hari Singh Park under the presidentship of the Home Minister, Mr. Wajahat Hussain.

The Conference was attended by about two thousand students all over the Kashmir province. Prominent leaders such as Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam and Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, and scholar-teachers such as Professor B.K. Madan and Professor Jia Lal Koul addressed the meeting. The Conference was a grand success. Several resolutions pertaining to the students' community and their welfare were passed. Some of the important resolutions related to "the introduction of compulsory primary education in the State, opening of more high and middle schools for boys and girls and starting U.T.C. classes in the colleges".¹²¹ The Students' Union worked very seriously for the cause of the students' welfare and in a short time it gained much popularity among

the students. Several branches of the Students' Union were opened at various places in Kashmir and Muzaffarabad. In 1937, a branch was opened at Anantnag where about two hundred students were enrolled as members. In southern Kashmir, one Ghulam Rasool Tak and a few others worked untiringly for the promotion of the cause of the Students' Union.¹²²

Establishment of the Students' Federation

The establishment of a Students' Federation became a necessity for the student community to organise themselves into one instead of the two organisations in existence. Moreover, several Muslim members had left the Students' Union or the Students' Union League in April, 1937 and joined the Muslim Conference. This had not only created confusion but also weakened both the student organisations. The Students' Union League began to lean towards the Government support. On April 18, 1937 the Students' Union convened a meeting to protest against the excesses of the Punjab Government for the arrest of a renowned congressite, Diwan Chaman Lal. But no resolution could be moved on account of divergent opinions expressed with regard to the situation created by the arrest of Congress leaders in the Punjab.

In August, 1937, the President of the Punjab Students' Federation, Mr. Prabodh Chand, was invited to Kashmir for bringing about a compromise between the two rival organisations. As a result of Mr. Prabodh's efforts, the All Kashmir Students' Federation was formed in 1937. Pandit Kashi Nath Bamzai was elected the President and Mr. Mohammad Sultan Want, the Secretary. The Federation had the following aims and objects:¹²³

- (i) To establish unity among Kashmiri students in matters of education and social intercourse;
- (ii) To submit to the Government amendments to the then existing system of education;
- (iii) To protect the rights of students; and

- (iv) To train the students in good citizenship and create among them a feeling for their political, social and economic conditions.

In July 1937, it was proposed that the Kashmir Students' Federation should be got affiliated with the All India Students' Federation.¹²⁴ On September 21, 1937 the Students' Federation convened a meeting under the presidentship of Pandit Janki Nath Zutshi near Pratap Park. The meeting decided that Dr. K. M. Ashraf from Allahabad should be invited to attend the Student Conference which was fixed to be held on 5th and 6th October. A Central Committee was also appointed for this purpose.

The Central Committee organised a public meeting at Srinagar on 5th and 6th October, 1937. The meeting was presided over by Dr. K. M. Ashraf.¹²⁵ A resolution against the Muslim students of the Punjab Students' Federation was moved but it could not be passed due to the opposition of some members which raised a great controversy in the meeting.

After the Conference came to an end, the Kashmir Students' Federation abruptly ceased to function as most of its members preferred to join progressive forces in active politics.

The Kashmir Students' Uplift Association

The Kashmir Students' Uplift Association was established in 1937 by a group of students belonging to rich families. They were progressive in outlook and the purpose for which they established the Association was chiefly humanitarian. The Association was, therefore, to work "for the welfare of the poor students"¹²⁶... On March 24, 1937 the members of the Association assembled at the Hussam Manzil, Khanyar. The following persons were elected as the office bearers:¹²⁷

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Pandit Durga Prasad Dhar | President |
| 2. Khwaja Hussam-ud-Din Naqshbandi | General Secretary and Organiser |
| 3. Shumboo Nath Kachroo | Secretary |
| 4. Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din | Treasurer |

5. Kashi Nath Karihalu	Vice-President
6. Khwaja Jalal-ud-Din	Accountant
7. Badri Nath Kaul	Auditor

The Association discussed various problems facing the poor but promising students during their educational career. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting held at the Hussam Manzil:¹²⁸

First, the Association would draw the attention of the wealthy and compassionate members of society to the conditions of the poor but promising students with a view to bettering their conditions and educational career by any kind of assistance in word, deed or money;

Secondly, it would provide them with material needs in the form of stationery, fees, clothings, etc.;

Thirdly, it would enable them to face the struggle for life, and to make their lives useful for the service of the nation;

Lastly, it would invite scholars, leading men and prominent leaders and men of influence to its meetings so that by their lectures the students were benefited.

In order to achieve these aims, the Students' Uplift Association set to function. But it did not make any progress worth the name. Like the Students' Federation, this Association also withered away soon after its appearance, and its founder-members also joined the active politics.

Labour Movement

The labour movement in the Jammu and Kashmir State may be said to have originated in 1965 when the Shawl-bafs rose against the oppressive system of Shawl industry. When its rumblings were heard again in 1924 as the Silk Factory workers put up an agitation it was ruthlessly crushed. The causes of its failure were the lack of leadership among the working class, absence of an organizational structure, cohesion, solidarity and discipline. Be it as it may, these movements performed a pioneering task in the agitation for labour. They forced the attention of the Government to the labour conditions. Also,

they set for the down-trodden masses an example how to organize themselves into a politically-oriented mass movement in the State.

Like their brethren in British Indian provinces, the labouring classes in Kashmir could not evolve an organised movement due to Governmental ban on the formation of associations. Besides, their poverty, backwardness and illiteracy were so abysmal that they just could not organise themselves into Unions and subscribe to them.

The leadership did not play effective role in the growth and development of an organised and institutional labour movement in the State. Though the leadership pleaded the cause of the labourers for the solution of their immediate problems, it failed to make them realise their potential strength. This state of affairs continued until 1937.

Mazdoor Sabha

For the first time the labourers were organised under the Mazdoor Sabha in 1937. The period which had followed the end of the First World War was featured by a number of new and important developments in the entire world. One of the aspects of the War was the severe economic depression felt in Kashmir also. The labouring classes were hit tremendously. As the prices of the essential commodities rose steeply, there was no corresponding increase in the wages of the industrial workers. Many of the workers, especially carpet weavers, were thrown out of their jobs. The Silk Factory was also jolted by the economic depression as a result of which the Government had to reduce the wages of the *Tarkashs*¹²⁹ by twenty-four per cent. A ten per cent cut was also effected in the clerical establishment of the Factory. Moreover, the labourers were required to do double the work at the reduced rates. They made several representations to the authorities requesting them to reduce their workload and restore their usual wages. When the economic conditions of the Silk Factory improved and the Government had restored the wages of the clerical staff, nothing was done in the case of the labouring classes who continued to suffer as before.

The Muslim Conference and the Labour

The Muslim Conference was aware of these labour troubles, and passed resolutions for organising the labour and for seeking them justice. At its third annual session at Mirpur, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah appealed to the labourers of the State "to organise their own unions and cooperate with the Muslim Conference as an associate body so that an organised fight could be waged for the removal of their complaints".¹³⁰ On Savan 30, 1893 (Samvat), the General Council of the Conference passed a resolution, urging upon the Party to divert its attention to improving the conditions of the labouring classes which had been growing from bad to worse. The resolution proposed the appointment of a sub-committee "to look into the problems of the labourers and seek redress for their grievances".¹³¹ The Conference was also directed to take special interest into the affairs of the labourers of the Silk Factory. In the light of this resolution, a sub-committee consisting of Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Hakim Qurban Ali and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, was appointed. Though Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad took a keen interest in organising the labour movement, he could not succeed in placing labourers on the path of Trade Unionism. The burden of this task fell on the shoulders of a group of intellectually advanced young men inclined towards socialism.

Birth of the Mazdoor Sabha

The Mazdoor Sabha came into being in the middle of 1937, by the efforts of a group of young men whose mental outlook and political convictions were coloured with Marxian socialism. They had formed some sort of associations like "Free Thinkers' Association" and "Study Circle", where they discussed socialism and its application to the conditions prevalent in Kashmir. These young comrades "were in contact with Indian Socialists like Comrade Bedi, Mrs. Freda Bedi"¹³², Dr. K.M. Ashraf, etc. Since they were intellectually advanced, it was very difficult for a man like Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad to adjust himself with them. The occasional discussions of these young men

with these societies gave the former the idea of organising the Mazdoor Sabha. Once the idea was born, the young leaders began to reorganise various associations such as the Kashmir Motor Drivers' Association, the Carpet Weavers' Association, the Tonga Drivers' Association, etc. These organisations were then brought under the banner of a single organisation which came to be known as the Mazdoor Sabha. The Mazdoor Sabha had the following features:¹³³

First, it had no concern with religion. Every member was free to profess any faith in his personal capacity. The members were required to honour and respect the religious sentiments of one another.

Secondly, during the course of discussions on any matter of the Sabha, nobody could be criticised on the ground of his belonging to a particular religion.

Thirdly, every member had to believe that:

- (a) every community had in it both good and evil elements, and that the Muslim capitalist was as oppressive for a labourer as a Hindu capitalist;
- (b) that the Mazdoor Sabha was above communalism.

Finally, all working classes such as factory workers, coolies on daily wages, artisans, clerks, scavengers, barbers, carpenters, drivers, etc., could become its members irrespective of religion, caste and creed.

Role of Mazdoor Sabha

The Mazdoor Sabha played an important role in politics. The labourers exhibited an appreciable consciousness in performing tasks assigned to them from time to time. They were trained by conscious cadres in the art of organization, conduct of the movement according to well-thought out plans and strategies, and also in disciplined action. For this purpose Study Circle groups were arranged where they were taught these things. By this education the labourers became more and more conscious

of their power and operated more effectively in the conduct of secular politics in the State.

Silk Factory Workers' Union—Battle for Wages

The first battle under the organised strength of the Mazdoor Sabha was launched by the Silk Factory Workers' Union against the excesses of the authorities of the Factory. In October, 1937, the workers presented a memorandum to the Government containing various grievances. The memorandum said that "the average income of a labourer was five rupees a month and on it he had to live a life of extreme poverty".¹³⁴ The following were the demands contained in the memorandum:¹³⁵

- (i) to restore the cuts in their wages;
- (ii) to furnish the labourers with work for the whole year so that they were saved from hunger and unemployment; and
- (iii) to reduce the workload which had been doubled by the Government during the days of economic depression.

Nothing came out of the memorandum. The authorities, on the other hand, threatened the labourers with a drastic action in case they continued to be the members of the Mazdoor Sabha. Consequently, many labourers were subjected to a harsh treatment.

On August 19, 1937 under the directions of the Mazdoor Sabha the Silk Factory workers went on one day's strike as a mark of protest against the rude attitude of the Government officials with the spokesmen of the labourers at the time when the memorandum was presented to the Director of the Silk Factory.¹³⁶ This was followed by further meetings and various other forms of demonstrations which became a regular feature of the Mazdoor Sabha. On September 7, 1937 the Silk Factory workers' Union held a big meeting on the premises of the Factory. It was attended by about three thousand labourers and workers. Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz and several labourers made speeches. Another rally was held on September 13, at Pratap Park, Srinagar.

About five thousand workers participated in this. The chief speaker at this meeting was the Publicity and Information Secretary of the Kashmir Youth League, Mr. Faiz Ahmad Paracha. Speaking on the importance of the labour, he said:¹³⁷

"The entire world depends for its survival on the existence of labourers and the working class masses. But the conditions of these labourers and working class masses are miserable because capitalists have crushed them. The remedy of this evil does not lie in the improvement and prosperity of one particular class but in the entire body of all classes of workers and labourers."

The President of the Mazdoor Sabha, Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, urged upon the workers to create among themselves a feeling of self-sacrifice, mutual cooperation and a sense of discipline so that the entire labour community was benefited. A resolution moved by Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz called upon all the workers and labourers to unite together irrespective of religion and creed.

On September 18, an important meeting was held at Pratap Park at which the President of the Mazdoor Sabha highlighted the significance of the labour movement in Kashmir. He said:¹³⁸

"The true significance of the labour movement lies in the fact that the workers should take interest in their work and show abilities in their performance which will lead them to more and more progress and prosperity."

A resolution was moved in the meeting by Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq expressing the need of establishing the labour movement on trade union basis. The aim of the resolution was to gather all working classes in the State under one organisation. A sub-committee consisting of Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prem Nath Bazaz, Faiz Ahmad Paracha and two representatives from different professions and twelve persons representing the Silk Factory Workers' Union, was appointed for this purpose.¹³⁹ By the end of September, 1937, the labour movement in Kashmir

had become, to a considerable extent, an effective force in the politics of the State. It had also widened its sphere of activities.

Labour Demonstrations

Having assumed great momentum as a force to be reckoned with, the Mazdoor Sabha held demonstrations of its strength. On October 4, 1937 a grand joint procession of the labourers and peasants was organised by it. The special feature of the procession was the demonstration of red banners and flags. A revolutionary cadre had been born. The banners contained new slogans and demands of purely economic character: "A Labourer is a Human Being", "Slavery Is a Curse", "We Want Two-Time Meals", "No Peace is Possible in a Country Where There Is Unemployment", "Slavery Does Not Profess any Religion", "Our Country Is Rich But We Are Poor", "Give Bread to the Hungry, Clothes to the Naked". The slogans reflected hitherto deeply repressed aspirations. Explaining the importance of the movement, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:¹⁴⁰

"The labourers, both Hindus and Muslims, become equally the prey of capitalists. The labouring classes in Kashmir made more sacrifices during the last six years of our freedom movement, but they did not gain anything out of it. It is a matter of shame for the educated young Muslims who got Government jobs as a result of the freedom movement, that they do not have any regard for these poor Muslims. The peasants and the labourers fill the State Treasury with their blood and sweat and the money is spent by others... Unemployed Hindus are similarly crushed under the clutches of the capitalist members of their own community. This state of affairs will, however, die away one day. Now, the time is fast approaching when a united front of all labourers and peasants will be organised. We must, therefore, render every possible help to the Mazdoor Sabha and its leaders."

On October 24, 1937 another grand demonstration was organised by the Sabha. On this day Mirza Mohammad

Afzal Beg, an elected member of the Legislative Assembly, had to introduce a Bill regarding restoration of cut in the wages of the labourers of the Government Silk Factory. According to the scheduled programme, the workers of the Factory took out a large procession from the Factory to the Assembly Hall. The processionists carried red banners and flags in their hands. When they reached the Secretariat, the police did not permit them to enter the premises of the Secretariat. Thereupon the processionists offered a satyagraha. They sat on the road, waving the red banners and shouting slogans. The action of the Government was criticised by the press, the public men and the legislators. Commenting on the nature of the procession the editor of the *Ranbir* wrote:¹⁴¹

"The processionists carried red flags and banners in their hands, shouting slogans as a mark of protest. The behaviour of the labourers was extremely peaceful. They were drawing the attention of the authorities to their own troubles in an organised and disciplined manner. The red banners did not carry any sign or symbol on them. All kinds of slogans shouted were secular in character, having no concern with religion. The labourers did not demand their rights in the name of religion. This reflects the character of this new movement."

In the Legislative Assembly, speaking in support of the Bill regarding the restoration of labourers' wages, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam said:¹⁴²

"Today, we see the red banners exhibited and waved in this country. The Government should respect law and order and should not try to suppress the legitimate voice of these people (pointing to the processionists)..."

These warnings made the authorities take immediate action "to put down the labour movement. Speeches and meetings have been banned. Mr. Faiz Ahmad Paracha has been externed for one year. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz has been gagged for six months".¹⁴³ On November 5, 1937 the Director of the

Silk Factory served notices on nineteen workers, asking them to sever their connections with the Mazdoor Sabha or else face dismissal.¹⁴⁴ Several of the leading workers of the Silk Factory Workers' Union were harassed in one way or another. The District Magistrate of the city issued a notice banning meetings and processions within the premises and in the neighbourhood of the Factory. The whole area was brought under Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code.

These repressive measures did not prove effective, and were vigorously criticised. Warning the Government Sardar Budh Singh said:¹⁴⁵

"...to silence the cries of those who seek redress or to extern a national leader from his country is an act of cowardice and injustice. It can never be justified...We have repeatedly expressed our opinion that nothing can be expected from an irresponsible Government which is established against the wishes of the people and is, as such, imposed on us."

The Mazdoor Sabha with all the sufferings it had to undergo made a creditable contribution to the freedom movement, and made the masses realize that a successful freedom movement could only be conducted on secular lines. It was the first gigantic force which separated religion from politics and taught people how to fight on economic issues.

The first victory of the Sabha was gained when on January 26, 1938 the Government restored the cuts in the labourers' wages announcing at the same time that 1,47,371 rupees and two annas would be distributed among the affected labourers.¹⁴⁶

Labour Union, Jammu

The activities of the Mazdoor Sabha in Kashmir markedly influenced the people of the Jammu province. The beginning of 1938 saw the establishment of a Labour Union in Jammu for the first time, under the presidentship of Mr. Gauhar Rehman. The other office-bearers were Mistry Mohammad Din (Vice-President), Lala Ram Chand (Secretary), Mistry

Siraj-ud-Din (Joint Secretary), Mistry Aziz-ud-Din (Financial Secretary) and Lal Din (Treasurer). A branch of the Union was also opened in Mirpur Tehsil.¹⁴⁷ By the end of January, 1938 the Union had enrolled more than one hundred and sixty regular members.

The Labour Union, Jammu was not as broad-based as the Mazdoor Sabha. Its main activity remained confined to the settling of disputes between the contractors and the labourers. On January 23, 1938 the Union decided to constitute a committee whose main function would be to decide the disputes among the labourers or between the labourers and the contractors. It was to save the labourers from going to court of law as litigants.¹⁴⁸ The Labour Union, Mirpur went on a strike as sixteen of the thirty-two scavengers had been rendered jobless by the Mirpur Town Area Committee. As a result of their continued strike for several days, the Government was compelled to restore all the affected scavengers to their services, and the scavengers' demands regarding the protection of their services were conceded. In this connection, the Labour Union, Mirpur convened a public meeting which was addressed among others by Sardar Budh Singh and Gauhar Rehman. Both these leaders commended the labourers for their courage shown during the strike.¹⁴⁹

Peasant Movement

Like the middle class leadership of the National Congress, which overlooked the importance of the peasant organisations in the national movement in the beginning, the leaders of the Kashmir movement failed to make an attempt to organise peasants and assign to them a precise role that they could have played in the movement. But the emerging leftist forces did not ignore the peasantry. As they organised the labour movement, they also started organising the peasantry towards the close of 1937.

Kisan Sabha

The Kirsan Sabha was formed in October, 1937 in Kashmir.

The successful role of the Mazdoor Sabha had widened the vision of its leaders and attempts were made to organise the peasantry. It was thought that the peasants' organization would be more helpful in the secularisation of politics and conduct of freedom movement on nationalistic lines. On September 29, 1937 at a meeting organized by the Mazdoor Sabha at Zaindar Mohalla, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said that "his energies would be now directed towards villages".¹⁵⁰ The first meeting of the Kisan Sabha was convened at Hyderpora, Kashmir, on the 28th and 29th of October, 1937 under the presidency of Sufi Mohammad Akbar.¹⁵¹ The meeting was also addressed by Sardar Budh Singh. The aim of the Kisan Sabha was to get the peasants united on a common platform and under one organisation of their own so that they fought for their demands which hitherto had been either fought for half-heartedly or ignored altogether by the middle class leaders of the Muslim Conference. By uniting and organising them into a separate body irrespective of religion or creed, the Kashmir movement for freedom was definitely taking on the colour of nationalism.

The cumulative effect of the labour and peasant movements in Kashmir was a very healthy change for the future politics. These movements infused a new dynamic spirit among the masses bringing about a change for making them realize that in politics what mattered most was the economic basis and harmonious social relational aspects of a strong nation. It was this aim that could secure to them a true democracy and freedom. In addition to the role played by the labourers and peasants there were other developments which also led to secularisation of politics on national lines in Kashmir. These developments may be summarised as under:

(a) Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Support for Hindu-Muslim Unity

In May 1936, Mohammad Ali Jinnah paid a visit to Kashmir in his private capacity. During his stay here he expressed his views on politics on two occasions. On one occasion a deputation of Pandits, consisting of Shiv Narain Fotedar and Pt. Prem Nath Kana, met him in his house-boat and sought his views on the problem of minorities. Mr. Jinnah told the

deputation that his views regarding minorities were the same as he had already placed before the majority in British India. With regard to criterion for Government services, Mr. Jinnah said the merit was the only criterion to be followed for Government jobs.¹⁶²

On June 3, 1936 Mohammad Ali Jinnah supported the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity in course of his speech delivered at Pather Masjid in reply to the address presented to him by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas on behalf of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Jinnah said:¹⁶³

"As a great lover of Hindu-Muslim unity, I assure you that this unity is not for me confined to verbal and ambiguous statements. I say from the depths of my heart that I have worked for it for years together. . . . I am sure that after Hindus and Muslims are united, it will not take a long time for the people in British India to rule over Hindustan.

"Since I am not aware of this place, I will not, therefore, express my opinion. But one thing which I feel necessary to tell you and your leaders is that the minorities, that is, the Hindus of this State, should always be given an assurance that equality and justice shall be secured to them in the State. It is the duty of the majority to give this assurance to minorities. . . . So long as this principles not owned there is no hope of any freedom. I will also say this that without winning the confidence of minorities and without assuring them of the equal treatment with majority, the obstacles in your political path will not be removed."

These views were exploited by the Muslim votaries of Hindu-Muslim unity in their justification for nationalism and secularism. Commenting on Mr. Jinnah's views, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas said:¹⁶⁴

"The sum and substance of Mr. Jinnah's historically important speech on this occasion was that for the establishment of a responsible Government in the State, the majority must win the confidence and cooperation of minorities with-

out which it is impossible for the former to succeed in its aim. We, therefore, necessarily come to this conclusion that Mr. Jinnah has already contemplated the policy of nationalism and the change in the form of the Muslim Conference."

(b) *Liaison with Indian National Congress*

The Indian National Congress began to figure openly in Kashmir politics in 1935. On December 28, 1935 a public meeting was held at Amirakadal, Srinagar in connection with fiftieth birth anniversary of the Indian National Congress. The meeting was presided over by Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz.¹⁵⁵ Tribute was paid to the National Congress for the services it had rendered to the nation during the preceding fifty years. The following resolution moved by Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi was unanimously passed:¹⁵⁶

"This representative meeting of the people of Kashmir acknowledges the services rendered to the country by the Indian National Congress for the last fifty years and requests the President of the Congress that millions of people of Kashmir are with him in his fight for the freedom of our motherland."

A short while after Mr. Jinnah left the State in 1936, some Congress leaders entered the State to create a liaison with the leaders of different communities. In August, 1936 Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon was sent to Kashmir by Jawahar Lal Nehru. Mr. Tandon was strictly instructed to see Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz.¹⁵⁷ It was quite apparent that the Indian National Congress had put the ball in the hands of the Sheikh, the unquestioned leader of the Muslim masses. In 1937, two prominent Congress leaders, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and R.K.M. Ashraf, came to Kashmir and made efforts to bring Kashmir movement closer to the Indian National Congress. Many talks were held between them and the Kashmir leaders for this purpose.¹⁵⁸ Dr. K.M. Ashraf delivered several speeches in favour of nationalism and joint action

by Hindus and Muslims. The closer contact between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Congress resulted in the Nehru-Abdullah meet in Peshawar in 1938.

(c) Nehru-Abdullah Meet at Peshawar

In January 1938, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah went to Peshawar at the invitation of the President of the Indian National Congress, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was on an official tour to Frontier Province. The first meeting between the Sheikh and Nehru took place at the residence of Dr. Khan.¹⁵⁹ Accompanied by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had, in all, three meetings with Jawaharlal Nehru at Peshawar, Banu and Kohhat respectively. The main discussion revolved round the prospects of the changing character of Kashmir freedom movement. Pandit Nehru categorically suggested that the doors of the Muslim Conference should be thrown open to the non-Muslims and a new era should be started in the Kashmir politics.¹⁶⁰ With regard to the minority's demand for safeguards, the Sheikh assured Pandit Nehru that "Muslims are ready to accept the legitimate demands which may be presented by them either directly or through an arbitrator".¹⁶¹ The two leaders thus reached an understanding that the movement in Kashmir would be patterned after the Indian National Congress.

The Nehru-Abdullah meet was an important event in the growth of the secular politics in Kashmir. A face to face talk with Nehru cleared all the vague impressions from the Sheikh's mind about the future attitude of the National Congress towards the Kashmir movement. Impressed by Pandit Nehru's views, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, immediately after his return from Peshawar, explained to his party that there was no alternative to recognizing the movement on national lines and to replacing the Muslim Conference by a national organization.¹⁶²

Criticism of the Nehru-Abdullah Meet

The Nehru-Abdullah meet was criticised by anti-secular forces

both inside and outside the State. The Azad Muslim Conference Party of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah criticised it as "a political bargaining".¹⁶³ The educated Muslims and the Muslim Government officials generally opposed the meet, terming it a conspiracy injurious to the interests of the Muslim population in the State.¹⁶⁴ The Punjab Muslims attacked the "double-edged" politics of the Indian National Congress. The contention was that the National Congress wanted to please the Hindus.

The criticism however did not and could not prevent the Sheikh and other leftist forces from going ahead with their programme. In August, 1938, when the movement for responsible Government was in operation, a manifesto of National Demand was issued.

(d) National Demand

The manifesto of National Demand was issued on August 29, 1938. It declared an unswerving loyalty to the person and throne of the ruler under whose aegis the ultimate goal of responsible Government was to be realized in the State.¹⁶⁵ It aimed at securing the people the elementary and basic rights of citizenship. The National Demand, therefore, propelled the hungry and starving millions irrespective of religion, caste and creed, to march together towards the achievement of responsible Government even in the most adverse circumstances. No religious sentimentalism or any communal interest was attached to the manifesto; it had solely economic content in it. Its economic aspect ran as under:¹⁶⁶

"The ever-growing menace of unemployment amongst our educated young men and also the incidence of numerous taxes, the burden of exorbitant land-revenue, the appalling waste of human life due to want of adequate modern medical assistance, the miserable plight of uncared for thousands of labourers outside the State boundaries and in face of all this the patronage that is being extended by the Government in the shape of subsidies and other amenities to outside capitalists as also the top-heavy administration

that daily becomes heavier, point to only one direction that the present conditions can never be better as long as a change is not made in the basic principles that are underlying the present system of Government."

In order, therefore, to reconstruct the then prevalent Government system, the National Demand asked for a responsible legislature based on joint electorate with seats reserved for minorities and guaranteeing them all other safeguards "for the protection of their legitimate linguistic, religious, cultural, political and economic rights according to the principles enunciated, accepted or acted upon by the Indian National Congress from time to time."¹⁴⁷

The manifesto of National Demand was a significant document envisaging a complete socio-political change and economic outlook of the people. But it was issued at a very critical juncture when as a result of the arrest of Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan, who had served as the vanguard of the mass revolution, the Government had made indiscriminate arrests in connection with the agitation in 1938. The declaration of National Demand at a time when most of the leaders including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were in prison gave a different shape of the movement. A few non-Muslims who had been instrumental in the growth of nationalism and secular politics courted arrest alongwith the Muslims. The participation of the non-Muslims, however small it was, alarmed the Government and drastic measures of repression under 19-L were repeated.

Criticism of National Demand

The National Demand was criticised by various quarters. Among the Muslims the anti-Abdullah elements opposed the National Demand. These elements included the followers of Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, the Ahmadiyas, the Punjabi Muslims, most of the Jammu Muslims and the educated young Muslims who were enthusiastic to establish Muslim League in the State because a good deal of literature had been sent from Lahore and Aligarh to Kashmir, appealing to the

student communities and young men "that for the sake of saving the national unity among Muslims, a branch of All India Muslim League be established in the State because Pandit Nehru had prepared Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah for establishing a branch of Indian National Congress in the State and get the Muslim Conference merged with it."¹⁶⁸

Among the non-Muslims, the majority of them opposed the National Demand on various grounds. Eighteen non-Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly representing the Jammu province issued a joint statement, declaring that the manifesto was a unilateral act. It was signed by the members of the Muslim Conference and by some of the non-Muslims who had signed the manifesto in their personal capacity which in no case could be claimed to represent their community's will. The declaration said:¹⁶⁹

"We deem it necessary to declare it to the people that we do not accept the National Demand at present. To accept this demand without any guarantee for the religious and political protection of other minority communities of the State is equal to accepting a purely Muslim rule...The National Demand can by no means nourish nationalism."

The President of the Yuvak Sabha, Pandit Shiv Narain Fotedar criticised the Indian National Congress for supporting the movement for responsible Government as embodied in the manifesto. According to him, the movement was based on one-sided and partial view-point placed before them by a few persons interested in the movement. He also contended that the National Demand had never seen the light of the day till even the leaders, responsible for starting the agitation, were arrested. He wrote:¹⁷⁰

"The cry for responsible Government is a later growth and with a view to justify an unjustifiable position, the issues were confused in order to lure the world in a belief that there was a strong national movement in Kashmir with responsible Government as its goal."

Again,

"Association of a few non-Muslims with the recent Muslim Conference agitation is a mere accident and is not sufficient to give the movement a national character."¹⁷¹

The Pandits in general did not accept the political nationalism of the Muslim Conference because of its communal character. For them the Muslims still held communal views. Their main belief was that the real aim of the so-called National Demand was not based on any economic motive but it stood for the achievement of political power for Muslim supremacy; this time not through communal appeal but "paper-nationalism". Under this atmosphere the minorities struggle for self-reservation in an atmosphere which is charged with political suspicion, mistrust and intrigue.¹⁷² The National Demand was also criticised for the reason that it was not of a truly representative character. It represented only a few individual Hindu leaders who had already lost their representative character in their community, and had joined the movement in their personal capacity. The Hindu progressive Party¹⁷³ founded by Jia Lal Kilam, it was challenged, came into existence after he was defeated in the elections held to the Legislative Assembly of the State in 1938 and "this party is limited to a dozen of persons and about the activities of which nothing is known".¹⁷⁴

The National Demand was also attacked from another point of view. It was argued that the Demand was presented prematurely and that it had not the consent of all the communities. Rejecting its national character, Mr. Satyapal Vohra, an M.L.A., argued that the votaries of responsible Government should have summoned a truly representative body of all communities to an All Parties' Conference so that a joint and unanimous memorial to the Government could be submitted. He wrote:¹⁷⁵

"...there has been no attempt to bring all the communities on a national platform. There was no exchange of ideas between different communities regarding safeguards of minorities..."

There was some element of truth in such criticism. The manifesto of National Demand was not of a truly representative character. In order to acquire a national character the Demand should have been signed by the leaders of at least the major political parties of the minority communities. It was signed neither by the leaders of the Yuvak Sabha, the major political organisation of the Kashmiri Pandits, nor by the non-Muslims, excepting Sardar Budh Singh of the Jammu province. Even the people of the Frontier areas were ignored. Besides, no public opinion was sought before it was issued. In fact the Manifesto was prepared and presented in a calculated and a politically measured move. And when it became public, it was hailed by the masses led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The entire opposition to it vanished like bubbles in the sea. The national character of the Demand became evident the moment the Indian National Congress extended its support to it and acknowledged its rationale. The Working Committee of the National Congress discussed the prospects of the Demand and its President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supported the movement with great enthusiasm. The Congress made extensive propaganda in favour of the movement.¹⁷⁶

Impact of Indian National Congress and All India States Peoples Conference on Kashmir Politics

The Indian National Congress and the All India States Peoples Conference made a tremendous impact on Kashmir politics during the second half of the thirties of the present century. The main reason for Congress impact on Kashmir politics was the change in its policy towards the native states which was basically effected by the birth of the All India States Peoples Conference in 1927 which "consistently demanded the integration of the movement started by the State's peoples for self-government within their respective states and the general national struggle for the political freedom of India carried on by the Congress".¹⁷⁷ As a result, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Jaipur in 1935 announced that "the interests of the people of Indian States are as much the concern of the Indian National

Congress as those of the peoples of British India and it assures them of its full support in their struggle for freedom".¹⁷⁸ The fifth session of the All India States Peoples Conference held at Karachi in 1936 supported the State Peoples fight for civil liberties. At its Navasari convention held in 1938, the States Peoples Conference vehemently opposed the resolution of the Congress Working Committee which had banned the formation of the Congress Units in the States. Several political workers from the States including Prem Nath Bazaz from Jammu and Kashmir State, criticised the Congress resolution and asked that it should be suitably amended.¹⁷⁹ The resolution was accordingly amended at the annual session of the Indian National Congress in February, 1938 held at Haripora. The resolution passed at this session stood for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India. It considered the States as unseparable and integral part of India and stood for full responsible Government, guaranteeing civil liberties in the States. The Congress also welcomed in the States such movements as were likely to develop more quickly on broader basis and drawing strength from the people of the States without relying on outside help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress. The resolution said:¹⁸⁰

"...the burden of carrying the struggle for freedom must fall on the peoples of the States...The Congress, therefore, directs that, for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggle of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress and continued where they exist already within the State."

The resolution of the Haripora Session of the Congress with regard to the States not only encouraged, inspired and prompted the people of the States]to organise themselves and conduct their struggle for freedom but it also created unswerving confi-

dence amongst the States' peoples in the Congress. The Congress policy was now definite, clear and unambiguous, aiming at the active participation in and sympathy with the peoples' struggle for freedom in the States. The impact of this policy on the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir State was felt in quick succession which precipitated the transition of the movement from its communal to national character.

Resolution to Change the Name of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference

On January 4 and 5, 1938, the Working Committee of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference met at Taj Hotel in Jammu in order to change the name of the Muslim Conference so that its doors could be thrown open to the other religious communities of the States. Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi was the mover of the resolution in support of the change in the name. Speaking on the resolution, he said:¹⁸¹

"The people of the Jammu and Kashmir State are in favour of the establishment of such an organization that will lead them irrespective of religion, creed, race and colour, on the path of progress and prosperity. Mutual strifes, disturbances and disunity cause damage to the oppressed and benefit the ruling class. Short-sightedness and narrow vision only complicate matters. If the oppressed and the ruled join hands and march together towards the goal of responsible Government success will certainly be theirs. Now the time has approached when the biggest and the State-wide organization of the Muslim Conference should call its non-Muslim countrymen to join its fold so that the aim of unity between the two communities is achieved. This will illuminate us as a nation."

The resolution was thoroughly discussed by the Working Committee. It could not, however, be passed for the reason that it was against the constitutional provisions of the Muslim Conference to pass such a resolution. Under Article 46 of the Basic Constitution of the Conference, no amendment, addition

or repeal of any provision of any part of the Constitution could be effected except in an annual session of the Conference with a two-thirds majority present and voting in the session.¹⁸³ This legal point hindered the Working Committee to go ahead. So the resolution was postponed till the forthcoming session of the Conference Party which fell on March 25, 1938.

The Sixth Annual Session and the Resolution

At the Sixth Annual Session held on March 25, at Jammu, the resolution with regard to change in the name of the Muslim Conference was, again moved by Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi. The Maulana proposed that "the name of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference be changed into the All Jammu and Kashmir Political Conference".¹⁸³ The mover of the resolution wanted the word "Muslim" to be deleted from the name. The main purpose of this change, explained the Maulana, was to smoothen the way for the establishment of an organisation which could provide to both Muslims and non-Muslims a common platform in future.¹⁸⁴

The resolution was supported by Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan who in a well-argued speech made an appeal to the delegates present at the session that Muslims in Kashmir should win the hearts of the minorities and gain their confidence. He said:¹⁸⁵

"In politics we are concerned with India as a whole and our outlook should be above caste and creed considerations."

The resolution was opposed by a few members and that led to its postponement. One of the members, Abdul Majid Quraishi, opposed it on the ground that it was premature to allow the more conscious and educationally advanced Hindus to join the Muslim movement at a stage when Muslims were yet backward in education and immature in politics. By throwing the Muslim Conference open to the non-Muslims, the balance would be in favour of the non-Muslims at the cost of Muslim interests. Mr. Quraishi blamed the Hindus and the Sikhs for playing a reactionary and unpatriotic role against

the Muslims. He cautioned the members that so long as this kind of mental attitude continued with the non-Muslims, it would not be in the interests of the Muslim community to throw the doors of the Muslim Conference open to them.¹⁸⁶ Another member, Maulana Abdullah Siyakhvi, while opposing the resolution, said that "the Muslims were not yet so conscious and wide-awake as to compete their non-Muslim countrymen in every walk of life".¹⁸⁷ Thereupon an amendment to the resolution was proposed by Allah Rakha Sagar and Sheikh Mohammad Amin, both representing the Jammu Muslims, suggesting that the resolution seeking the change in the Basic Constitution of the Muslim Conference be published for eliciting public opinion on the issue. In the light of the public opinion, the decision would be taken in the forthcoming annual session of the Muslim Conference. This suggestion and the amendment to the resolution was not accepted by the mover of the resolution. The disagreement between the mover and his opponents created a tense atmosphere which was relieved by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's intervention. The Sheikh made a short speech on the occasion and the resolution was put to vote. The majority of the members voted in favour of placing the resolution before the people for their vote.¹⁸⁸

However, never was the public opinion sought on the Resolution. The controversy was finally settled down after Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's views and suggestions, through correspondence, were also sought. The new organisation was decided to be named as the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. But before the change was effected, the following conditions were settled:^{189-a}

Firstly, "It will be in the objectives of the National Conference to struggle for the religious, economic, political and administrative grievances (of Muslims).

Secondly, "Seperate electorate, which was already in force with regard to elections to the Assembly and other bodies, shall remain in force.

Thirdly, "Sheikh Abdullah will not own Congress politics nor will he support the Congress in any case.

Finally, "In the struggle against Maharaja Hari Singh, all

the nationals inhabiting the State, shall have an opportunity of participation and the goal of the Conference would be to set up a Responsible Government."

Hindu Reaction to the Establishment of a National Body

While the efforts to convert the Muslim Conference into a national body were in progress, the Hindu-Sikh Naujawan Sabha convened a meeting, inviting all sections of Hindus and Sikhs to its deliberations. The issue of discussion was whether, in view of the common interests, it was desirable to establish a political organisation based on secular national character. The Sabha's main concern was to know whether it was more useful for the country to convert the Muslim Conference into a common national body or to organise a new political party rather than join the reformed and rechristened Muslim Conference.¹⁸⁹

The issue remained unsolved. There was no justification to convene a meeting of this kind at a time when the Muslims were engaged in the serious efforts of changing their parent organisation into a national forum for the sake of fulfilling the aspirations of the non-Muslims. As a matter of fact, the non-Muslims were not yet prepared to accept the leadership of the Muslims even in an atmosphere of nationalism. This sectarian attitude of the majority of the non-Muslims did more harm to the cause of nationalism in the State than the reactionary role of the Muslim separatists. The question of introducing national and secular ideology in the State politics lay ultimately with the Muslims who constituted the majority of the population. As for the Hindus, they were neither in a position to form a single, solid and united leadership nor could they organise any kind of united front.

Working Committee of the Muslim Conference Passed the Resolution

Until April 15, 1938 the Muslim Conference did not press the issue of taking up the resolution for obvious reasons. It was a crucial period because the third General Election to the State Legislative Assembly was due on April 15, 1938. The Con-

ference was busy with the electioneering. The results of the election gave an overwhelming victory to the Muslim Conference. It won nineteen seats, out of its total elected strength of twenty-one seats. Among the Pandits, the reactionary elements won the day. The nationalistically inclined veteran parliamentarian, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam was defeated after having served the three lives of the Assembly. This defeat was greatly responsible for Jia Lal Kilam's shift from the Yuvak Sabha politics to nationalism.

In a press statement on the success of the Congress Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:¹⁹⁰

"Now that we have succeeded in gathering together the Muslims under one banner, we are more worried than before about the minorities problem. This problem still awaits solution and it should be decided by some peaceful means. The prevailing circumstances and the need of the time demand that we must change the basic constitution of our organisation in such a way as to accommodate all freedom fighters in the wider range of our movement so that all of us are enabled to wage a joint struggle for the achievement of our freedom...Being in the majority, it is our sacred duty as Muslims that we should continue our efforts to win the confidence of the minorities."

After the general elections were over, the Sheikh busied himself with the task of making the masses understand the true significance of nationalism. The main theme of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's speeches on nationalism was that "communal politics does not suit the temperament of the people of this State. It cannot help in removing the evils of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and, above all, our slavery".¹⁹¹ The public response to his call for secularism and nationalism and the exclusive success of the Muslim Conference in the elections was a sufficient guarantee to the Sheikh to go on with his programme of changing the Muslim Conference into a national body. It was under this favourable condition that the resolution purporting to change the name of the Muslim Conference was passed by the Working Committee.

Passing of the Resolution

On June 28, 1938 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself placed the following resolution before the Working Committee:¹⁹²

“Whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the time has now come when all the progressive forces in the country should be rallied under one banner to fight for the achievement of responsible government, the Working Committee recommends to the General Council that in the forthcoming session of the Conference the name and the Constitution of the organisation be so altered and amended that all such people who desire to participate in this political struggle may easily become members of the Conference irrespective of their caste, creed and religion.”

The resolution was passed by a majority of fourteen against four votes. The dissenting members, namely, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, Abdul Majid Quraishi, Choudhary Abdullah Bhali and Master Abdul Aziz opposed the resolution on the ground that it was premature for the Working Committee to take a final decision, favouring the change in the name and the Constitution of the Conference.¹⁹³ They were, however, warned and asked to resign from the Conference in case they did not agree with the majority view.

Reaction to the Passing of the Resolution

The immediate reaction in favour of secular politics came in the form of support extended to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah by all progressive and nationalistic forces both inside and outside the State soon after the Working Committee of the Conference Party had passed the resolution. The Jammu National Congress Committee¹⁹⁴ and the Kashmir Socialist Party extended invitations to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, requesting him to join their respective organisations. In reply to their invitations, the Sheikh reiterated that the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was not a communal body. He assured the congressites of the Jammu province that the

Muslims were ready "to propose such a name for the organisation as is acceptable to all patriotic sections of our nation .."¹⁹⁵ He laid stress on a joint political action by both Hindus and Muslims for removing hunger, injustice and oppression.

Similarly, the Kashmir National Congress Committee, established in June, 1938, also extended its support.¹⁹⁶

Role of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad

The role of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad during the agitation in 1938 was remarkable. To stop the agitation for responsible Government, the Jammu and Kashmir Government headed by Gopalaswami Ayyengar made indiscriminate arrests of the leaders of political workers. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the most efficient organiser, worked underground for some time. But on September 11, he went in disguise to Rawalpindi and from Rawalpindi accompanied by Prem Nath Dhar, he went to Delhi. In Delhi he met Gandhi Ji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,¹⁹⁷ and acquainted them with the Kashmir situation. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad also made rapid contacts with leading Congress personalities such as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Syed Ahmad Bareilvi and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. The following two purposes were uppermost in his mind:

- (i) To bring the influence of Congress leaders to bear upon the Kashmir Prime Minister, Gopalaswami Ayyengar for the immediate release of Sheikh Modammad Abdullah and his other political colleagues, and
- (ii) To win the support of the Congress leaders in favour of the movement launched by the State's people for the achievement of responsible government.

In order to achieve the above two purposes Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad put in his best efforts as a result of which a Congress deputation was sent, on December 20, 1938, to Jammu to discuss the problem of the political prisoners and the constitutional reforms with the Maharaja and His Prime

Minister.¹⁹⁸ It was due to the Congress influence upon the Maharaja and Ayyengar that another dose of constitutional advancement was announced by the ruler on February 11, 1939. The Ayyengar Government, however, did not agree to the early release of the political prisoners. To win the support of the Congress leaders and other political workers, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad worked in Delhi under the instructions of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He prepared a pamphlet about the political movement in the State which he circulated among the people as well as the Congress workers.¹⁹⁹ In this way he was greatly instrumental in mobilising the opinion of the Congress leadership in favour of secular politics in Kashmir. The meetings of the Bakshi and the others with the Congress leaders were also responsible for making Pandit Nehru hold a session of the All India States' Peoples Conference at Ludhiana.

All India States Peoples Conference—Background

The All India States Peoples Conference came into existence in 1927 when the people of the States were convinced that the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, was not prepared to give up its official policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Native States on grounds that the States were "independent entities under the British law",²⁰⁰ and as such, not only any attempt on the part of the Congress at interference could damage the cause of the States' peoples, but also developments in British India were ultimately bound to effect the destinies of the States. This policy of the Congress had debarred the people of the States to organise and establish the Congress units in the States, though they were free to become the members of the Congress and its Committees. When the All India States Peoples Conference was established at Poona in Bombay in 1927, the rulers of the Indian States declared it unlawful and the question of holding its meetings in the States did not arise.

The Congress, however, changed its policy towards the States when, in 1928 at its session at Calcutta, it deleted the policy of non-interference from its programme and urged upon the

Princes to grant Fundamental rights and Responsible Governments to their subjects. The people of the States were at the same time given assurance that the Congress would support them in their struggle for the attainment of their legitimate objectives. At the fifth annual session of the All India States Peoples Conference held at Karachi in 1936, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the Congress movement for freedom included the freedom of the people of the States also. Emphasising the anti-British role of the Congress, Pandit Nehru made it clear that the British imperialism, not the rulers, was the main enemy and as soon as the British power in India was liquidated, the rulers were bound to meet the demands of their subjects. The Karachi Session of the Conference was significant in that the Congress and the States' people came closer to each other. The Karachi Session also established Civil Liberties Union for the attainment of civil liberties of the people of the States. The Conference adopted its own Constitution and set nine organisational units for the realisation of their objectives.²⁰¹ The close affinity between the Congress and the All India States Peoples Conference was further exhibited at Navasari Convention, in 1938.

Ludhiana States Peoples Conference

The All India States Peoples Conference, after the Navasari Convention, held a session at Ludhiana in February 1939. The session may be considered as the most crucial in the history of the State's Peoples movement. It was held when almost every native State, big and small, was seething with political upsurge. By this time the Indian National Congress had decidedly changed its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States. Even Mahatma Gandhi, an originator of this policy, had declared that it was impossible for him, in the face of injustice perpetuated in the States, to defend the policy of non-interference. The Navasari States Peoples Convention held in February, 1938 had also proved to the Congress leadership that the struggle for responsible Government in the States was assuming large dimensions in the general context of the freedom movement in India. The holding of the session by the All

India States Peoples Conference at Ludhiana had a special significance for the people of Jammu and Kashmir in that their freedom movement was brought in line with the Indian nationalism.

On November 4, 1938 Mian Ahmad Yar Khan at a public meeting held at the Pather Masjid in connection with the celebration of *Id-ul-Fitr*²⁰² had declared: "We have to attend a Conference of All States Peoples to be held at Ludhiana under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru."²⁰³ Again, on December 14, 1938 a meeting of some selected leaders of the Muslim Conference was held at Mujahid Manzil to prepare a list of delegates who would attend the forthcoming session of the All India States Peoples Conference at Ludhiana. The suggestion made by one Abdul Majeed Quraishi that only the selected members of the Muslim Conference be sent to attend the said Conference was rejected by the majority vote on the ground that it was essential to maintain communal balance keeping in view the secular character of the movement.²⁰⁴ The meeting finally decided that a delegation of forty-seven members, both Muslims and non-Muslims, should be sent to Ludhiana.

Ludhiana Conference in Session

The All India States Peoples Conference began its session at Ludhiana under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on February 15, 1939. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and other nationalist forces in J & K State hailed the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Hindu Progressive Party in its telegram to Pandit Nehru expressed:²⁰⁵

"Kashmir Hindu Progressive Party sends hearty congratulations and hope you to lead personally the movement for responsible government."

Similarly, the Young Men's Muslim Association, Jammu congratulated Nehru on his election to the presidentship.²⁰⁶

Meanwhile, the political prisoners in Kashmir having served their term of imprisonment were released in the beginning of

February and those who were to attend the Conference went directly to Ludhiana on their release.

Nehru's Views on the Role of the States Peoples

The presidential address delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru was important in many respects. According to him, the greatest obstacle which stood in the way of India's freedom was the "growth of the forces of disruption and disintegration, of communalism and provincialism, of irresponsibility and narrow-mindedness..."²⁰⁷ But there was also, at the same time, a ray of hope which exhibited itself in the shape of the newly awakened people of the States. Nehru saw in the freedom struggle of the people of the States an element of wisdom, courage and strength in the general context of the larger nationalist movement in the country. He therefore laid emphasis on building up Peoples' organizations in the States for fighting communalism by non-violent methods.

Nehru's Views on the Freedom Movement of Kashmir and Hyderabad

Criticising the major States like Kashmir and Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said that the rulers of these States were acting as the agents of the British imperialism and were utilizing communal differences to check popular movements in their States. Comparing the popular movements in Kashmir and Hyderabad States Pandit Nehru observed:²⁰⁸

"...in Kashmir the popular movement is called communal because it is largely Muslim in composition. In Hyderabad it is said to be communal because it is predominantly Hindu...Hyderabad and Kashmir are two premier States in India and we might have hoped that they would set an example to others by introducing free institutions and responsible Government. Unhappily, both are exceedingly backward politically and socially. Hyderabad is a predominantly Hindu State with a Muslim ruling class; Kashmir is predominantly a Muslim State with a Hindu ruling class.

Both these represent the same type of problems and both have some background of extreme poverty among the masses, illiteracy, educational backwardness and undeveloped sources."

Nehru's Views on Minority's Attitude Towards the Movement in Kashmir and Hyderabad

Speaking of the attitude of the minority community towards the popular movements in the States, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it clear that popular movements grew up and spread to the masses and in that case these movements naturally and inevitably affected the great majority of the population. Under such circumstances it was not surprising if these movements showed certain communal tinge to begin with. But the fact remained that "even so they did not cease to be popular movements representing the urge of the masses and their objective was national one which would bring relief and progress to all".²⁰⁹ The minority groups would condemn them, he added, as communal movements simply because "the minority was opposed to freedom and progress and clung on to some petty special privileges which it was thought that the present regime gave it".²¹⁰ Such an attitude on the part of the minority was neither rational nor justified.

Nehru's Advice to Hindus of Kashmir

Pandit Nehru's views on the role of minorities in a freedom struggle included, among other things, that the minorities should not fight for petty claims such as share in administrative jobs, etc. He advised the Hindus of Kashmir to give up communal claims and share in services. He said:²¹¹

"To Hindus of Kashmir, I would say that they should not press for communal claims and share in services. This will show a more or less *baniapan* if they insisted on such claims. When revolutions were taking place in different parts of the world it did not benefit Hindus to insist for a special share

in services. It is always few who brought about revolutions in the countries of the world."

Resolutions Passed at the Ludhiana States Peoples Conference

Several resolutions were passed and adopted at the session of All India States Peoples Conference, Ludhiana. The most important resolution for the people of Jammu and Kashmir State was the resolution on Kashmir which marked another significant landmark in the political history of the State. The resolution on Kashmir was given final shape by the Drafting Committee on the basis of several draft resolutions which were submitted by the Kashmir leaders either individually or collectively by a group of three or four of them. Thus, on February 12, 1939, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in a letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Reception Committee had expressed his desire of moving the following resolutions:²¹²

- (1) "The All India States Peoples Conference after a close scrutiny of the so-called reforms announced by His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir on February 11, 1939 completely rejects the proposals as worthless. The reforms do not touch the fringe of the political problems in the State and do not mark a step forward."
- (2) "The Conference expresses its satisfaction that the National Demand is based on democratic principles and secures the cultural, linguistic, economic, political and religious rights of minorities."
- (3) "The Conference is satisfied that the movement in the State for the attainment of political ideal as embodied in the National Demand is national in character and spirit."

Similarly, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, Maulana Moulvi Mohammad Syed Masoodi and Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq sent the following drafts to the Drafting Committee:²¹³

- (1) "The All India States Peoples Conference endorses the

National Demand of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which embodies a scheme for constitutional reforms in the State."

- (2) "The Conference expresses its satisfaction that National Demand is based on democratic principles and ensures the cultural, linguistic, economic, political and religious rights of minorities."
- (3) "The Conference is glad to note that the movement in the State for the attainment of the political ideal as embodied in the National Demand is national in character and spirit."

There was also another draft of resolution on Kashmir.²¹⁴ However, the Drafting Committee gave due place to the various draft resolutions sent to it, before a final resolution on Kashmir was drafted, incorporating many new things in it. The resolution on Kashmir was moved by Sirazul Hassan Tirmeze and seconded by Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, on February 16, 1939 when it was passed amid loud cheers and applauses. The resolution ran as under:²¹⁵

- (1) "This Conference expresses its solidarity with the people of Jammu and Kashmir State in their struggle for responsible Government and gives its support to their national demand which embodies changes in political and constitutional liberties which are immediately necessary.

"The Conference is of opinion that the recent constitutional changes announced by the State authorities, are entirely unsatisfactory and do not make any essential difference in the present constitutional structure of the State which continues to be irresponsible. Further that the State is continuing its policy of suppression indicates that there is no essential difference in the attitude of the State towards the movement for freedom and responsible Government. This Conference in particular condemns Notification 19-L which in effect normalises a state of Martial Law in the State and enacts the

rule of military and police. This notification confers powers of arrest and internment of political workers by Sub-Inspectors of Police and military officers, powers of search without warrant, of confiscation of property, of the flogging of political workers, fines and long terms of imprisonment without proper trial. Such an enactment is an offence to all civilized canons of legislation and Government."

The resolution on Hyderabad was very skilfully moved by the representative of Kashmir, Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi. It was seconded by Govindrao Nanalji, President, Hyderabad State Congress Committee and supported by Siraj-ul-Hassan Tirmizi, Allah Rakha Sagar from Jammu and Maulana Habib-Ur-Rehman Ludhianvi.

Another most important resolution adopted at the Ludhiana Conference was the one on the Treaty Rights. The treaties which in the past had been made by the paramount power with the Princes had been utilized by the latter as an instrument for perpetuating autocracy in their States. These treaties had been entered into without any reference or regard to the people of the States and applied to them according to the then existing circumstances. The contention of the resolution on the Treaty Rights was that the treaties made over a century before could not be considered binding on the people of the States at a time when conditions had entirely changed. In fact the treaties were used by the paramount power to intervene in the struggle for freedom in the States in favour of the Rulers and the obligation to protect the people from misrule and oppression was ignored. The resolution moved by Rapat Lal Chudgar of Rajkot ran:²¹⁷

"This congress is strongly of the opinion that these treaties should be forthwith ended and being completely out of date and inapplicable to the present conditions and it calls upon the paramount power to refuse help or protection to those rulers who decline to put an end to misrule and who attempt to crush the movement for freedom in other States."

The Ludhiana States Peoples Conference played a significant role in the history of the Kashmir politics in that it brought to an end the political isolation of Kashmir by drawing the Kashmir movement closer to the mainstream of Indian nationalism. Also, the role played by the prominent politicians of Kashmir in the proceedings of the Conference was a rich contribution to national and secular politics in India.

Immediately after their return from Ludhiana, the leaders organised public meetings and processions, acquainting the masses with the programme of the All India States Peoples Conference. A common platform, from which both Hindu and Muslim leaders and political workers addressed the mass meetings, was established. A new cadre of nationalists was born. The Kashmir movement identified itself with the freedom movements of other native States. On March 5, 1939 at a meeting held at the Pather Masjid, a resolution was moved by Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, extending support to the people of Rajkot State in their fight against autocracy and their struggle for responsible Government. The resolution said:²¹⁸

"...if some injury or harm is caused to Gandhiji as a result of the hunger strike which he has started with the purpose of making the Ruler of Rajkot State grant the demands of his subjects, a great revolution will start in India, and at that, we shall join that storm."

All States Peoples Conference at Tripura

On March 6, 1939 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah went on a month's tour outside the State. During the tour he took the opportunity of acquainting top Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru with his party's views regarding the movement in Kashmir. On March 14, 1939 he was honoured by being asked to preside over the Tripura Session of All India States Peoples Conference held at Jhanda Chowk. The Conference was addressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Bholabhai Desai and Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya.²¹⁹ In his presidential address Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah warned the Princes of the States against the conse-

quences of the battle between autocracy and democracy. He advised all Rajas and Nawabs that they should make use of public resources for the welfare of their subjects and that "they should not spend money from the State treasuries which are filled with the blood and sweat of their poor subjects, for their personal dignity and splendour".²²⁰ He assured the Congress leaders that the people of Kashmir would end the politics of communalism and reactionarism, in future, and that they "will take rest only after having owned the ideal and basic principles of the Indian National Congress".²²¹

During his Punjab tour, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was invited on various occasions to deliver speeches and acquaint the people with his views. In his presidential address to the Punjab States Peoples Conference held in the gardens outside Mori Gate, he emphasised the anti-imperialist role of the freedom Movements launched by the States' Peoples. He said:²²²

"The struggle in the States is not much against the Princes as against the Political Department of the Government of India and against the British imperialism."

The struggle for freedom fought by the Indian National Congress and the freedom movements in the Princely States were closely related with each other. This relational aspect of the struggle for freedom between the Congress and the States' Peoples was inseparable and one could not be conducted smoothly without the aid of the other. The Sheikh said:²²³

"The State subjects formed the second wheel of the Chariot of India's freedom and unless they were strengthened the chariot would not go ahead."

Sheikh Abdullah's Views on the Role of Muslim League Towards the States

After having accepted and adopted the nationalism and secularism of the Indian National Congress as the basis of his own and his party's policy and programme, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah could not see eye to eye with the role of the

Muslim League towards the States. Like the Congress leaders, he became abruptly a vehement critic of the All India Muslim League. He regarded the League's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States as sheer parochialism. Such a policy was bound to defeat the very purpose of the freedom movement for which the States Peoples had been fighting. He advised the Muslim League to leave the Kashmir State and its people alone. Criticising the League's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States, the Sheikh said:²²⁴

"How can we tie ourselves to you? You are the people who in a resolution in Patna threatened to create difficulties for the Congress in the affairs of the States. While we were in greater stress the Congress came to our rescue. It was the Congress which voiced our grievances and supported us. Maulana Zafar Ali has in a speech at Kapurthala declared that the Congress is an enemy of the Princes and they in the League are their friends and protectors. If that is right let me say clearly that we cannot be with those who want the present state of affairs to continue."

Justifying his party's attitude in secularising the political movement in Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah argued that there was no material difference in the position as it then existed in British India and Kashmir. Referring to Jinnah's observation that for the achievement of India's independence the majority community must win the confidence of the minority, Sheikh Abdullah said:²²⁵

"Will anybody tell me how am I wrong, representing a majority community as I do, in trying to win the confidence of the minority community which happens to be the Hindus, the Sikhs and others in Kashmir? May I know what irreligious act am I committing in trying to take the minorities with me to have self-Government for the people? Is it not absurd that what is right here becomes wrong in the case of Kashmir?"

By 1939, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had in fact force-

fully preached politics of nationalism and opposed the official policy of the Muslim League, regarding it as completely in-applicable to the problems of the Indian States. But "for various reasons a large majority of the educated Muslims in India had been alienated by the Congress. This had given great strength to the Muslim League. This development affected the politics in Jammu and Kashmir also".²²⁶ The Sheikh's preaching of nationalism cooled down the devotional enthusiasm and political spirit among a section of the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir or India. Their indifference to the new creed of nationalism increased by the speeches of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders of the All India Muslim League.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Opposition to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Nationalism

On April 1, 1939 Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his reply to an address presented to him by the Kashmiri students at Aligarh Muslim University appreciated the person of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the sacrifices made by him for his people. But he, at the same time, cautioned him against his pro-Congress leanings. For Jinnah the Congress was an enemy of Muslim interests and any friendship between the Congress which according to him was a Hindu-ridden political organisation and the Muslims was a sheer impossibility. He said:²²⁷

I can say with certainty that he (Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah) is in the wrong. Having got himself ensnared by the Congress which is thoroughly a Hindu organisation, he has put the ship of his community in a whirlpool. I understand that he is doing this out of ignorance and some misunderstanding. But I am fully satisfied that he will soon realise his mistake and will return to the right path, and will come to know that those whom he is considering his friends and at whose beck and call he is acting, are not his true friends but his enemies. It is not Sheikh Abdullah alone who has become a target of this mistake but there are several others like him who have been so

deceived and perhaps I too am one of those persons who had become once the victim of the same deception.

The growing popularity of the Muslim League among the educated Muslims in India and the speeches of Jinnah and his political colleagues made an impression on the minds of a number of educated sections of Muslims in the State, with the result that certain forces attempted to counteract Sheikh Abdullah's campaign for nationalism.

Opposition to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his pro-Congress attitude began to be voiced by certain sections of the Muslim population in Kashmir also. The most vocal of all the sections was a group of students who distributed posters and pamphlets among the people, warning the Muslim masses against the turn-coat attitude of their leaders. They exhorted the people that they should not get persuaded by the coaxing speeches of their leaders who preached the so-called nationalism. Against the Indian National Congress, they wanted to establish the All India Muslim League in the State. The Ahmadiyas were also in favour of this. In this connection, Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar convened a public meeting at Namchabal, Srinagar. The meeting was attended, beyond expectations, by a large number of Muslims. The young speakers at the meeting made several attacks on Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah. Both these leaders were blamed for having created schism among Muslims by their factional strifes which they had been exploiting for their own selfish interests and personal aggrandisement. They had created a concept of personal loyalty to the detriment of the Muslim cause. Addressing the meeting Mr. Gilkar said:²²⁸

"The Muslims have made sacrifices. They have shed their blood and created a movement out of it. There is no reason for the non-Muslims to suffer for the Muslims. If there is any oppressed among the non-Muslims we shall fight for him but will not tolerate any harm done to the interests of the Muslim community. The Muslims are not yet sufficiently educated. They are not politically so conscious as to discriminate between right and wrong. By

accepting nationalism they will seek their own destruction. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is under a wrong impression that the Congress and non-Muslims will support him . . . Slogans of "Ram Raj" and "Hindu Raj" are still being shouted from the Congress platform. If we have to live and save the interests of the Muslims, it is then essential that we establish a branch of the Muslim League in this State and get it affiliated with the All India Muslim League."

Similarly, Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah opposed the nationalism of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. He charged Ayyenger with the conspiracy of supporting the Congress movement in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.²²⁹ A limited section of the educated Muslims and Muslim Government officials were not in favour of the national secular politics of Sheikh Abdullah. According to them the Muslims were not yet prepared for responsible Government. They argued that the advantages of responsible system of Government were more for the non-Muslims than for the Muslims. For them the existence of the Muslim Conference was very essential for safeguarding the interests of the Muslims which under responsible Government would be ignored."²³⁰

The anti-national forces among the Muslims had created misgivings in the hearts of the Muslim masses. Attempts were made by these forces to dissuade the members of the General Council of the Muslim Conference from confirming the resolution which the Working Committee had already passed. The situation posed severe threat prompting the leaders to quicken the pace of rechristening the Muslim Conference. A meeting of the General Council was immediately called to approve the resolution.

General Council Approves the Resolution

On April 25, 1939 the General Council of the Muslim Conference met at Mujahid Manzil to consider the situation. But while the session was on, a batch of Muslim students from S.P. College, Srinagar, appeared on the scene to dissuade the members of the General Council from approving the decision of the Working Committee. Thereupon the meeting was adjourned

to the next day. On April 26, 1939 the General Council approved the resolution and recommended amendment in the name and constitution of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in order to enable all progressive elements in the State, irrespective of caste and creed, to join the organisation for the achievement of responsible Government in the State. The General Council further decided "to hold a special session of the Conference under the presidentship of Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, ex-Member of the State Assembly, on the 10th and 11th of June at Srinagar to get the resolution approved by the representative gathering".²³¹ A Sub-Committee of three members was also appointed with power to coopt for suggesting changes in the name and the constitution of the Muslim Conference.

Again, on April 29, 1939, the General Council of the Muslim Conference convened a meeting of its provincial members at Mujahid Manzil to consider, again, the question of renaming the Conference. In a heated discussion that followed the general feeling was that the establishment of a new secular political organisation was essential for the wider interests of the people. But there were several members such as the labour leader, Khwaja Abdul Rehman Dar of Sopore, Moulvi Mohammad Yaqub, Khwaja Rehman Dar, etc., who opposed the decision of the Working Committee on the ground that Muslims, taken collectively, were yet backward in education and other respects. They argued that non-Muslims being sufficiently advanced in every respect were in a far excellent position to have access to the Government offices. Under these circumstances, they added, the rechristening of the Muslim Conference would never serve any useful purpose for the Muslims. The majority of the members did not agree with them and approved the decision of the Working Committee. It was reiterated that a special session of the Muslim Conference be convened at Srinagar to ratify the decision.²³²

Special Session and the Conversion of the Muslim Conference into the National Conference

In the light of the decision taken by the General Council on

26th and 27th of April 1939, the special session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was held at the Pather Masjid, Srinagar, on 10th and 11th June, 1939. The session was attended by one hundred and seventy-eight delegates out of the two hundred constituting the total strength of the General Council. Besides, many persons including some non-Muslims were invited as guests to witness the proceedings. The press, both local and national, was also invited. The session was presided over by Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq.

The special feature that marked the occasion was the organisation of public procession which marched through various streets of the city, shouting nationalistic slogans. The streets were "well decorated with gates named after the Congress leaders in British India and also Kashmir leaders".²³³

The special session started at the Pather Masjid on 10th of June, 1939. Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi's welcome address was followed by the presidential address of Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq. After having dealt with the historical events which had led to the foreign domination over Kashmir for four hundred years during which period the people of Kashmir lived a life of slavery and bondage, Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq explained the causes which were responsible for generating an organised political movement among the Muslim subjects of the State against the rule of injustice and oppression. He said that the freedom movement in Kashmir was a part of the world revolution. It was naturally a follow-up event of the revolutionary era which had transformed the fate of big countries like France and Russia.²³⁴

Referring to the role of the Muslim Conference during the preceding eight years of its existence, Mr. Sadiq declared that the Conference had always fought for Hindu-Muslim unity. Speaking on the resolution for rechristening the Muslim Conference, he said:²³⁵

"Today, I am sure that this session will, by extending the jurisdiction of the Muslim Conference to accommodate forty million people of the State within its fold, will with full unity and cooperation pass this resolution...This day will

be written in golden letters in the history of political rise and national life of Jammu and Kashmir...

"You know that by blending ourselves with the All India States Peoples Conference, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has, in general, proved itself worthy of consideration in the political field of India and, in particular, among the native States. It is an admitted fact that in politics Kashmir can prove its mettle to lead five hundred and sixty-one princely states. Thus, today your decision can equally be effective right from the boundaries of Ladakh and Gilgit to the Cape of Cameron. From the local point of view, you are assembled here not only to decide your own fate but also the fate of your future generations. If, God forbid, the fuss-creating elements of selfishness and reactionarism, or your own lack of wisdom has become the cause of some prevarication, then its consequences will have to be borne out not only by us but also by our coming generations. I am, therefore, sure that each one of you, who has come here with a passion in his heart for the exaltation of his nation and the country, will take some such decision as a result of which our country will be looked at with great honour by the whole world and that our future will carry us to the goal of freedom, eminence and progress."

The presidential address was followed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's reading out to the delegates the message of greetings received for the occasion. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his message had said:²³⁶

"Greetings to your Conference. Trust it will base itself on nationalism and help in bringing freedom to all people in Kashmir."

Moving the Resolution

The most crucial and important phase in the special session was the moving of the following resolution by Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi:²³⁷

"This special session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, convened in connection with the changes in the name and Constitution of this Conference, approves as confirmed and ratified by the General Council in its meeting held on April 27 and the resolution No. 5 passed by the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference in its meeting held on June 28, 1938, and resolves that, in future, the name of this Conference will be the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. The special session further resolves that every adult person in the Jammu and Kashmir State, man or woman, can become its member irrespective of religion, caste, race and colour:

"Provided that, the achievement of individual liberty and the establishment of responsible Government are considered as an ideal by every such member.

"Again, this special session resolves that until the forthcoming annual session of the Conference, the present members and office-bearers of the Working Committee and the General Council of the Muslim Conference and the delegates of the special session, and the new members of the Sub-Committees of the Conference, without fulfilling the requirements and conditions of the basic Constitution, shall be deemed to be the members of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, and shall, in that capacity, perform their duties."

The resolution was thoroughly debated and discussed. Every member was free to express his opinion. The following were the arguments advanced in favour of and against the resolution:

Arguments in Support of the Resolution

The arguments in support of the resolution were sent forward by the leading members of the Muslim Conference. Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi's arguments were more in the nature of religious appeal. He argued that Islam permitted Muslims to enter into an alliance, truce or treaty with non-Muslims in political matters; and by doing so they were not

committing any irreligious or un-Islamic act. He further argued:²³⁸

First, in the Holy Quran God ordained Prophet Mohammad (peace be on his soul) that those non-Muslims who seek to make an alliance, conciliation or amity with Muslims, should be permitted to do so and such peace or alliance should be made with them. The treaty entered into with the Jews of Medina by the Prophet and the Peace Treaty made by him with the Quraish at Hudiabiya,²³⁹ and the waging of the Jihad (holy war) by the Prophet in support of non-Muslim tribe against the Quraish for their violation of the truce of Hudiabiya, were cited as examples.

Secondly, the practice adopted in the modern age by the Government of the Muslim countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan with respect to the minorities was also advanced as an argument in support of the resolution by the mover. He told the delegates that the cordial relations established by the Muslims in Palestine with the Arab Christians with marvellous results was an example for the Muslims in Kashmir.

Thirdly, the desire of four million people of Kashmir to establish a responsible Government in the State, and the experience of the last eight years' struggle for the achievement of that goal indicated that there was no way of success other than a united struggle under a common political organisation.

In his concluding remarks the mover of the resolution pointed out the importance of Kashmir in general frame of India's physical structure. He said:²⁴⁰

"You know that the people of Kashmir constitute the brain of India. If you look at the map of India, you will see, according to rank or degree, Afghanistan form its right hand, Nepal and Bhutan, the left hand, the Punjab and Rajasthan its chest, loaded with spirit and enthusiasm, and Madras and Burma are its feet. When you look at this entire body structure of India, you will find that only Kashmir can be given the status of brain, and you, who are assembled here, form the crux of this brain. I, therefore, request you,

that by passing unanimously the resolution, aiming at changing the Muslim Conference into a common political organisation for four million people of the Jammu and Kashmir State, you will certainly give the proof of your superior wisdom and sagacity."

The resolution was supported by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas. In his supporting remarks, the Choudhary explained the need for changing the parent organisation into a new one. He said that the politics in the State in 1931 was in its infancy. The garb which was proposed for that politics had become outworn and threadbare under the changed circumstances. He said:²⁴¹

"...Now, the time has come when we should discard the old and decayed mantle and tear it to pieces, and make arrangements for a new guise, according to the body of the present politics which has grown young."

Expressing his views about the future politics in Kashmir, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas was rational and realistic in his approach. His theme of arguments was that the people as well as their associations must change with the changing times. To make adjustments to the changed times was the need of the time in the light of increased demands and new urges of the people. Supporting the Resolution on this contention, the Choudhary said:²⁴²

"...At times of change, the circumstances and the surroundings also change. The position of the associations can be compared to children who grow with the passage of time. Whatever we did so far was well and good but now our needs have increased and to put an end to the unresponsive character of the Government, it has become necessary to bring all the communities on a common platform."

Referring to the opponents of change, the Choudhary held the conservative and reactionary elements of the Muslim community responsible for opposing the move to change the name of the Muslim Conference. These opponents of change, he

held, were the same person who had been opposing the Muslim Conference. Similarly, the Choudhary did not spare the Government. He held the government machinery responsible for not only opposing the renaming of the Muslim Conference but also supporting the reactionaries for doing the same. The Government opposed the change because it feared that in case the change was effected the people would succeed in their struggle for the attainment of Responsible Government. To those opponents of change who blamed Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his colleagues that they had sold themselves to the Congress and became the disciples of Gandhiji, the Chaudhary said:²⁴³

"After eight years' labour, we ought to be addressing the Hindus instead of Muslims. But the opposition of the Muslim reactionaries compelled us that we should convince them by sufficient proofs and arguments...I feel regret when I see that we have wasted our time...We have ploughed the desert and barren and incultivable land...The complaints of our opponents are meaningless. They were opposed to us in the past as they are at present. We are blamed that we are the followers of Gandhiji. But I say that we follow none, but the Holy Quran and the Prophet. We have place of eminence as a leader of India. But the statements issued by Gandhiji regarding the recent events in Travancore and Rajkot are disappointing. His opinion is that people living in Indian States should strive for agreements with their rulers...but we can not make applications and supplications to Mr. Ayyengar for our demands. We will secure our rights bravely and courageously. You should not expect us to become followers of Gandhiji but in so far as his followers are concerned, we have the same place for them as we have for those who do not agree with him."

Dealing with those who believed in Two-nation theory, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas told the delegates that what was being done was nothing contrary to what Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had already expressed. He said:²⁴⁴

"I think Mr. Jinnah is a capable politician...It is his view that the majority should gain the confidence of the minority. At this moment, we are pursuing the same policy...If Muslim League wishes to render help in our joint demands, we will be ready to accept it but we will not be prepared to sell our freedom of conscience to any outside organisation."

Choudhary Ghulam Abbas appealed to the delegates that they should use their vote without any let or hindrance. He also advised them not to be misled by slogans of Islam-in-danger raised by the reactionaries. Such slogans, he said, were used only to hinder the process of progress and advancement.

The Choudhary's views about the future politics of Kashmir was based on his rational and realistic approach. He was not pessimistic about the past politics. He held that the growth and development of the political movement since 1931 was good. But as the times changed, the circumstances and associations also changed and the need of the time was to adjust to the changed times.

The next leading politician to support the resolution was Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. He told the Muslims that it was their duty to win the confidence of minorities because they, even if twenty per cent, formed a harmful opposition. Referring to the State of Rajkot Mr. Beg told the delegates that the responsible Government in the State could not be achieved by the majority owing to the vicious attitude of the minority. Appealing to the delegates to favour the change in the name of the Muslim Conference, he said that Hindus and Sikhs might be given a chance to make sacrifice, under a united political organisation, for the cause of the country's freedom. He also exploited the treaty of Hudiabiya to convince the delegates of the reasonability of the change in the name and the constitution of the Muslim Conference. He said:²⁴⁵

"At the time of the treaty made between the Muslims and the non-Muslims, Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) went to this extent that he deleted the word "Rasool"

which was appended to his name, from the documents of the treaty."

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg was followed by Allah Rakha Sagar who supported the Resolution on secular basis. While addressing to the delegates at special session, Mr. Sagar explained that politics would be correctly approached only when it was separated from religion. By mixing religion with politics, he said, "We only make controversial a very sacred thing (religion). We should not use religion in a manner it creates difficulties in our day to day life."²⁴⁶ Mr. Sagar made it abundantly clear that the sphere of politics had so tremendously increased that it was very difficult for the people of the State to confine themselves to the sphere which they had chosen for themselves eight years ago. The need of the hour was, therefore, the owning of a policy of nationalism. He said:²⁴⁷

"India or Kashmir of today cannot move ahead without accepting Nationalism. Nationalism is the best way of doing full justice to the minorities and we shall not only be defending our Islamic heritage but shall also be defending the rights of non-Muslims."

Arguments Against the Resolution

All was not smooth at the special session of the Muslim Conference. Some of the delegates had "privately expressed fears about the future of the political movement after the change was effected".²⁴⁸ However, these fears were discussed in time and removed from their minds. They ultimately toed the line of pro-changers. But there were some others who were adamant in their point of view about the change. Thus, Choudhary Hamid-Ullah opposed the resolution on the ground that the non-Muslims who formed twenty per cent of the population and held ninety per cent of the Government services would not cooperate with the Muslims. He argued that Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible because Hindus were already advanced in education and as such, would have an

edge over Muslims under the responsible Government. It was also said that the Hindu money-lenders of the Jammu province opposed nationalism in the State.²⁴⁹

Referring to the attitude of non-Muslims towards the freedom struggle, Choudhary Hamid-Ullah Khan said:²⁵⁰

"Whatever has been gained by Muslims so far has been due to the efforts of the Muslim Conference. National Conference will not be able to work for Muslims...The politics of Kashmiri Pandits is confined to service alone; it is, therefore, futile to expect cooperation from them. Those who are joining our ranks do not command the confidence of their community...

"There can be unity between the weak and the strong. They cannot march together. In Jammu we have Hindu money-lenders while Muslims constitute the poor peasantry. Unity among them is impossible. Rajputs pride themselves to be rulers; they do not, therefore, feel any need for unity; that is why no other nation is coming forward by an inch. How then are you going ahead by changing your organisation?"

This contention was supported by Moulvi Rafi-ud-Din. Similarly Ghulam Hyder Khan, the editor of the "Naujawan", was not in favour of disbanding the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Expressing his willingness for the establishment of a national political forum, Mr. Hyder wanted that the new National Conference be established without disbanding the parent organisation.

The special session was thrown open to non-Muslim leaders also and they were also given opportunity to address the delegates. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz was the first non-Muslim leader who in his speech said:²⁵¹

"I have never been so happy as I am today; it is so overwhelming that it is not possible for me to express myself coherently and with ease. From the very beginning, it has been my longing to bring all the communities on a common platform. Whenever I used to express these views to my

friends, they used to laugh at me but Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah used to say that unity will be achieved, though, progressively and slowly..."

While addressing the special session, Pandit Jia Lal Kilam criticised both the Hindu and Muslim communal organisations on the ground that such organisations were always detrimental to the cause of secularism and nationalism. He said:²⁵²

"We can seek assistance from any outside organisation which is prepared to do so without any strings but we will not take any assistance from any one if it is the Muslim League or the Hindu Maha Sabha because while the former demands the partition of our motherland, the latter seeks to establish Hindu Raj. However, if parties like Ahrars or Jamiat-Ul-Ulema wish to help us, we shall accept it."

Voting on the Resolution

The voting on the resolution took place when both views, for and against, were heard by the delegates. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah brought the discussion to an end by asking the delegates to cast their votes. One hundred and seventy-five delegates voted in favour and only three against. Amidst applause and joyful slogans the President of the special session, Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, announced at 1.45 in the night between 11th and 12th June, 1939, that the resolution was a landmark in the history of the freedom movement in Kashmir. It spelled out the dissolution of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference after a life of eight years, and at the same time heralded the happy news of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, coming into existence.

Immediate Changes

The following were the immediate changes effected:

- (i) The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was

- replaced by the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference.
- (ii) The Muslim Conference had under its control several mosques and religious places. These could not be retained by the National Conference. So according to the recommendations of a Sub-Committee the National Conference ceased to have the right of keeping under its control mosques, etc., and a Muslim Waqt for that purpose was created.²⁵³
 - (iii) The President of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, nominated a Working Committee of twenty-one members and a General Council of fifty-one members. These two committees were to function till the forthcoming first annual session of the National Conference to be held at Anantnag.²⁵⁴
 - (iv) The members of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference were required to take the following oath:²⁵⁵

“We on oath declare that we will maintain the unity among the different classes of the people and offer every possible sacrifice for the attainment of liberty and responsible Government in the State.”

- (v) The green flag with the crescent in the middle, which was the party flag of the Muslim Conference, was discarded and it was replaced by a red flag with a plough in the middle.

The transformation of Muslim Conference into National Conference was a great contribution of the Kashmir movement to secular politics in India. Thus, did the anti-despotic, anti-colonial and radically progressive movement, which the Muslim Conference had launched and gradually evolved, take a fundamental national direction. As an integral part of Indian liberation movement led by the Indian National Congress, the movement for freedom in Kashmir, strove and struggled for national emancipation from the alien domination of the British and the destruction of their colonial framework in the Indian States.

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1. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, "The History of Freedom Struggle in Kashmir", *The Alina (Weekly)* Srinagar, September 30, 1972, p. 4.
2. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *Personal Diary (1907-1950) (Manuscript unpublished)* September 11, 1931, item 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 11, 1931, item 4.
5. The Mirwaiz was nicknamed Bakra which in Kashmiri means Goat. Since the Mirwaiz wore a long beard he was likened to the goat. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was nicknamed by the followers of the Mirwaiz Gada-Kala which in Kashmiri means the head of a fish. But the Sheikh who became the hero of the freedom movement was hailed as Sher-i-Kashmir, the lion of Kashmir throughout the length and breadth of the State. Ultimately, the two terms Sher (lion) and Bakra (goat) became applicable to the followers of the Sheikh and the Mirwaiz respectively. This state of affairs continues to the present day.
6. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, January 22, 1932, item 2.
7. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1932, item 1.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1932, item 4.
10. When the Mirwaiz was invited to accompany a joint Muslim deputation to see the Prime Minister in connection with the release of political prisoners, he refused the invitation on grounds that the deputation included the Ahmadiya members also. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1932, item 1.
11. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 22, 1932, item 3.
Also:
"In the month of June Sheikh Sadiq Amritsari tried conciliation between Yussuf Shah and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Both of them were invited to a feast. Mirwaiz Hamadani, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, G.A. Ashai etc., were also invited. The absence of Yussuf Shah infuriated Sheikh Sadiq." Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Alina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 15, 1972.
12. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *Ibid.*, p. 5.
13. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, August 14, 1932, item 2.
14. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1932, item 1.
15. "G.A. Ashai told me that a meeting has been fixed to be held near Sathu Barbarshah, in a houseboat named "Gulshan". There are some persons from outside the State." *Ibid.*, August 23, 1932, item 3.
16. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1932, item 2.
17. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1932, item 4.

18. Certain quarters suspected Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as an Ahmadiya.
19. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, August 29, 1932, item 2.
20. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1932, item 3.
21. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1932, item 1.
22. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1933, item 1.
23. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, p. 4.
24. Telegram No. 9 from Resident of Kashmir to Pollindia, New Delhi, dated April 10, 1933, *File 43/II/33, Political Secret.*
25. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi; *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, April 15, 1933, p. 4.
26. "It is hoped that Mirwaiz Mohammad Yussuf Shah will furnish required security and be released." Telegram from Resident of Kashmir to Pollindia, Simla, dated May 1, 1933, *File No. 43/II of 1933, Government of India, Home Department, Political Section*, (National Archives of India).
- Also:

"Syed Ata-Ullah Shah Bukhari (Kreeri) furnished the security on behalf of Moulvi Mohammad Yussuf Shah, Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*
27. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, May 12, 1933.
28. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1933, item 1.
29. Telegram No. Nil from Resident of Kashmir to Pollindia, May 30, 1933, *File No. 43/II of 1933, Government of India, Home Department, Political Section.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 26, 1933, item 2.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, item 3.
34. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, May 7, 1933, p. 4.
35. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 14, 1933, item 3.
36. Telegram No. 107 from Resident of Kashmir to Pollindia, June 29, 1933, *File 43/II of 1933.*
37. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, June 29, 1933, item 4.
38. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1933, item 1.
39. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1933, item 3.
40. Telegram No. 119 from Resident of Kashmir to Pollindia, Simla, July 7, 1933, *File 43/II of 1933.*
41. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, July 7, 1933, item 4.
42. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1933, item 3.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, August 12, 1933, item 2.
45. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, May 7, 1933, p. 5.

46. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, July 28, 1933, item 3.
47. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1933, item 1.
48. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, May 7, 1973, p. 8.
49. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, December 1 & 2, 1933, item 2.
50. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1933, item 1.
- 50A. Letter dated, Lahore, Oct. 12, 1933, from Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, quoted in Muhammad Yussuf Saraf, *Kashmir's Fight for Freedom (1819-1946)* Vol. I (Lahore, Pakistan, Feroz Sons, 1978), p. 493.
- 50B. Prof. Masud-ul-Hasan, *Life of Iqbal*, Book I (Lahore, Pakistan, Feroz Sons Ltd., 1978), pp. 336-337.
51. P.N. Bazaz, *Kashmir-ka-Gandhi*, (Srinagar, Kashmir Publishing Company) 1935, pp. 125-126.
52. On October 6, 1931 the Pandits held a secret meeting at the residence of Pandit Balkak Dhar. The meeting was attended by Munshi Assad-Ullah and Mirza Ghulam Mustafa etc... Suddenly an earthquake shook the houses and these people came out of the house for safety. When the people around saw them they rebuked them. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 12, 1931, item 1.
53. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1933, item 1.
54. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1933, item 4.
55. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1933, item 2.
56. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, May 15, 1973, p. 5.
57. Demi-official letter from H. G. Garbett to Havlett, Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, New Delhi (Confidential). File No. 43/III/34, *Political Home Department*, (National Archives of India).
58. Letter from Garbett to Havlett No. C.1427-S-B (Confidential) *Ibid.*
59. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, May 17, 1973, p. 5.
60. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, August 7, 1973, p. 5.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Speech delivered by Abdul Razak on February 26, 1934 at Khanqah-i-Mualla, *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, Vol. II, Nos. 25&26, 1973, p. 38.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
65. P.N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* (New Delhi, Kotla Mubarak, 1954), p. 166.
66. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)* Srinagar, August 7, 1973, p. 4.
67. Sardar Budh Singh, "Riyasat-Mein-Assembly", *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, June 20, 1932, p. 10.
68. *Ibid.*, "Quami-Itihad-ke-Silsilah-Mein-Kasur-Kis-ka-Hai ? *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, April 11, 1938, p. 10.

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69. Lala Girdhari Lal Anand, "Riyasat-Men-Mushtarika-Platform-ki-Ashad-Zarurat", *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, April 15, 1935.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 9, 1932, item 2.
Also:
Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 31, 1972, p. 4.
72. File No. 42/III/34, *Political and Home Department*, (National Archives of India).
73. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, August 19, 1932, item 6.
74. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 15, 1973, p. 5.
75. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 7, 1974, p. 4.
76. The meeting was attended by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, Mohammad Yahya Rafiqi, Maulana Bihaqqi, Mohi-ud-Din Andrabi, Mir Maqbool Geelani, Nisar-ud-Din, Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, Mohammad Ayub Sabir, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar, Mir Ghulam Hassan Geelani and Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *Ibid. The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 7, 1974, p. 4.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *The Tribune (Lahore)*, August 26, 1936, p. 11.
80. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 23, 1974, p. 4.
81. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, September 30, 1974, p. 4.
82. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 17, 1974, p. 4.
83. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 23, 1974, p. 4.
84. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, June 16, 1932.
85. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, August 1, 1932, p. 4.
86. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, October 10, 1932.
87. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 3, 1932, p. 4.
Also *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
88. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, September 30, 1932,
Also:
Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 3, 1972, p. 4.
89. Relief Fund for the sufferers during troubles in Kashmir.
90. The signatories to the appeal were: Saad-ud-Din Shawl (President of the Conciliation Board), Pt. Kashyapabandhu, Chanderjoo, Mir Maqbool and Anand Kaul Bamzai. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, April 17-24, 1933, p. 4.
91. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 3, 1972, p. 4.
92. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 2, 1932, item 2.

93. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1932, Item-2.
Also:
Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *Ibid.*
94. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, December 12, 1932, p. 12.
95. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, Har 6, 1990 (Samvat), p. 9.
96. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, October 1, 1932, p. 11.
97. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, October 3, 1932, item 2.
98. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 3, 1972, p. 4.
99. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, January 16, 1933, p. 13.
100. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, May 23, 1973, p. 5.
101. P. N. Bazaz, *Kashmir-Ka-Gandhi*, (Srinagar, Kashmir Publishing Company, 1935), p. 155.
102. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, May 23, 1973, p. 5.
103. P. N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 165.
104. P. N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, *Kashmir-Ka-Gandhi*, pp. 140-141.
105. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, August 12, 1935, p. 8.
106. "Letter dated Srinagar May 27, 1938, from P. N. Bazaz to M. N. Roy", *M. N. Roy Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library Teen Murti House).
107. *Presidential Address delivered by Mian Ahmad Yar Khan at the Third Annual Session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference at Mirpur, on November 11, 12 and 13, 1934* (Srinagar, Kashmir Printing Press), p. 27.
108. *Presidential Address delivered by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas at the 4th Annual Session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference held at Srinagar on 25, 26 & 27 October, 1935*, p. 22.
109. Editorial, *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, May 11, 1936, p. 5.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Presidential Address delivered by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah at the Sixth Annual Session of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference on 25th, 26th & 27th March, 1938 at Jammu* (Jammu, Prem Printing Press), p. 7.
112. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's speech at a tea party given in his honour by Lala Girdhari Lal Anand of Jammu, *The Tribune*, Lahore, April 11, 1939, p. 7.
113. P. N. Kaul Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, (New Delhi, Metropolitan Book Company (Pvt) Ltd., p. 709.
114. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, July 4, 1936, p. 15.
115. *Ibid.*
116. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 8, 1936, p. 11.
117. *The Hamdard (Weekly)* Srinagar, August 29, 1936, p. 9.
118. *Ibid.*
119. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, April 13, 1937, p. 11.

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120. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 3, 1936, p. 11.
121. *The Tribune*, Lahore, November 12, 1936, p. 10.
122. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, May 23, 1975, p. 4.
123. *The Hamdard (Weekly)* Srinagar, July 3, 1937, p. 11.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
125. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 9, 1937, p. 11.
126. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, March 27, 1937, p. 6.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
128. *Ibid.*
129. A person who draws silken thread from the cocoons.
130. *Presidential Address of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference held at Srinagar in 1935*, pp. 16-17.
131. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 15, 1936, p. 12.
132. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 15, 1975, p. 4.
133. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 23, 1937, p. 15.
134. "Memorial presented by the Labourers of the Silk Factory to the Government of Kashmir", *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, September 4, 1937, p. 5.
135. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, November 6, 1937, p. 3.
136. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 21, 1937, p. 11.
137. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, September 18, 1937.
138. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, September 25, 1937, p. 7.
139. *Ibid.*
140. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October, 9, 1937, p. 7.
141. Editorial, *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, November 15, 1937, p. 7.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
143. 'Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq dated November 6, 1937', *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, November 16, 1937.
144. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, November 15, 1937, p. 4.
145. Sardar Budh Singh, "Mazdoor Aur Kisan", *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, November 22, 1937, p. 15.
146. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, January 31, 1938, p. 3.
147. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, January 24, 1938, p. 3.
148. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, January 31, 1938, p. 12.
149. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, February 7, 1938, p. 16.
150. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, October 2, 1937, p. 12.
151. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, November 1, 1937, p. 3.
152. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, May 25, 1936, p. 7.
153. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, July 3, 1939, p. 3.
154. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, June 10, 1939, p. 3.
155. The meeting was also attended by Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Mohan Kishen Tickoo (Secretary, Kashmiri Pandit Association), Pandit Madusudan Hanjumar (Editor Quami Dard), Dina Nath Bazaz, Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masoodi, Shanti Swarup, K. N. Bha

- J. N. Zutshi (President of the Students' Union), Rafiqi (Editor, Jahangir), Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din (Secretary, Students' Union) and Faiz Ahmad Paracha.
156. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, January 6, 1936, p. 4.
157. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 15, 1936, p. 6.
158. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, October 18, 1937, p. 7.
159. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, January 31, 1938, p. 7.
160. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, February 14, 1938, p. 15.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.*
163. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 30, 1975, p. 4.
164. *Ibid.*
165. General Secretary, States Peoples Conference, Bombay, *Kashmir*, 1939, Appendix.
166. *Ibid.*
167. *Ibid.*
168. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, October 7, 1938.
169. Pandit Shiv Narain Fotedar, "Kashmir Situation and After", *The Tribune (Lahore)*, December 16, 1938, pp. 7 and 14.
170. *Ibid.*
171. *Ibid.*
172. *Ibid.*
173. The Kashmiri Hindu Progressive Party was formed in June, 1938 and it claimed for its following the intellectuals, the youth and the peasants among the Hindus and Sikh communities. It accorded full support to the movement after the resolution changing the name of Muslim Conference was passed.
174. The statement of Pt. Balkak Dhar, Lahore (*The Tribune*) November 16, 1938, p. 12.
175. *The Tribune (Lahore)*, November, 1936, p. 4.
176. *The Tribune (Lahore)*, September 13, 1938.
177. Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, *Kashmir Retrospect and Prospect*, (Bombay University, 1967), p. 21.
178. P. Sitarammayya, *The National Movement of India* (Bombay, The Nationalist Information and Publication Ltd.), 1950, p. 119.
179. R. L. Handa, *History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States* (New Delhi, Central News Agency, 1968), p. 192.
180. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.
181. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 23, 1975, p. 5.
182. *The Basic Constitution of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference* published by the General Secretary of the Conference, Art. 46.
183. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, July 15, 1975, p. 4.
184. *Ibid.*

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185. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, April 13, 1938, p. 18.
186. *Ibid.*
187. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, July 15, 1975, p. 4.
188. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, March 28, 1938, p. 12.
- 188A Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, *Kash-Maksh (An Autobiography)* Lahore Sind Sagar Academy, 1966, p. 211 & 212.
189. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, April 10, 1938, p. 5.
190. *The Ranbir (Weekly)*, Jammu, July 4, 1938, p. 12.
191. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 13, 1975, p. 4.
192. P.N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
193. *The Hamdard (Weekly)*, Srinagar, July 3, 1938, p. 18.
194. The Indian National Congress Committee was established in Jammu in 1936. It was not officially recognised. Its founders were Ghulam Gous (advocate), Chowdhary Nur-Hussain, Comrades Mohammad Shafi and Tika Singh, Trilochan Dutt and Girdhari Lal Anand : Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, September 21, 1975, p. 2.
195. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, August 13, 1975, p. 5.
196. The Kashmir Congress Committee came formally into existence in June, 1938. It was for a short while conducted by an *ad hoc* body. But on June 4, 1938 elections to the Kashmir Congress Committee were held at a meeting at Kralkhud, Srinagar, under the president-ship of Pt. Dina Nath Hanjura. The following office-bearers were elected to the Committee:
 - (1) Khwaja Umar Bhat...President
 - (2) Pandit Dina Nath Raina...Vice President
 - (3) Pandit Rugh Nath Vaishnavi...General Secretary
 - (4) Mr. Ali Mohammad...Organising Secretary
 - (5) Mr. Ved Prakash...Treasurer-cum-Accountant; and Kashori Lal, Faiz Ahmad Paracha and Dina Nath Hanjura. members. *The Hamdard (Weekly)* Srinagar, June 12, 1938, p. 12.
197. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, September 28, 1975, p. 3.
198. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, November 16, 1975, p. 3.
199. Letter from G.M. Bakshi to Kapadji (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House), *File No. 92, Part I.*
200. K.L. Handa, *History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, (New Delhi, Central News Agency, 1968), p. 99.
201. The following organisational units were set up by the Conference:
 - (i) The Punjab States including Kashmir, Khairpur and Simla Hill States;
 - (ii) Rajputana States;

- (iii) Central Indian States including Rampur, Banaras and Tehri Garhwal;
 - (iv) Gujarat States;
 - (v) Kathiawad States;
 - (vi) Southern Marahatta States;
 - (vii) South Indian States;
 - (viii) Hyderabad; and
 - (ix) Orissa States, including Manipur and Cooch-Bihar, *Ibid.*, p. 189.
202. Muslim Festival, observed on the first of Shawal.
203. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, November 24, 1938, item 4.
- Also;
- Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, November 16, 1975 p.3.
204. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, November 16, 1975 p.3.
205. "Telegram from the President of Kashmir Hindu Progressive Party to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru", *File No. 14 Part II, AISPC* (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).
206. "Telegram from the President Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu to Pandit Nehru", *Ibid.*
207. R.H. Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
208. *The Tribune (Lahore)*, February 16, 1939. p. II.
209. *Ibid.*
210. *The Tribune (Lahore)*, February 17, 1939, p. 3.
211. *Ibid.*
212. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad wrote the following letter to the General Secretary, Reception Committee:

Lahore
12.2.1939

My dear Lalaji,

I am sending the enclosed resolutions which we propose to move in the All India States Peoples Conference at Ludhiana. Please forward them to the Drafting Committee and oblige.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
(G.M. Bakshi)

To Lala Achinram,
General Secretary,
Reception Committee AISPC,
Ludhiana.

The resolutions moved by G.M. Bakshi were seconded by S.N. Koul, *File No. 14, Part II, AISPC Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti House).

213. The resolutions were moved by Pt. P.N. Bazaz and seconded by Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi and G.M. Sadiq, *Ibid.*
214. An unsigned draft resolution ran as under:

"This Conference expresses forth its solidarity with the people of the Kashmir State in their struggle for fundamental rights and political liberties and gives its full support to them in their demand for full responsible Government.

"This Conference strongly condemns the repressive policy of the Jammu and Kashmir Government in normalising the Martial Law in the State in the form of Notification No. 19-L, which is unparalleled in its severity and scope, and which has enacted the rule of the police and the military soldier in the State.

"In the opinion of the Conference the Notification No. 19-L, which confers Magisterial powers of arrest and conviction of political workers on Sub-Inspectors of Police and all Military Officers and power of search without warrant, of confiscation of property and punishment of political workers with flogging, fines and to long terms of imprisonment without proper trial, amounts to rule of naked and organised force.

"In the opinion of the Conference the continuation of this Notification on the Statute Book of the State completely discredits the State Government in the eyes of the civilized world.", *Ibid.*
215. *Ibid.*
216. *The Tribune* (Lahore), February 18, 1939, p. 2.
217. *Ibid.*
218. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, March 5, 1939, item 1.
219. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1939, item 3.
220. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, December 7, 1975, p. 2.
221. *Ibid.*
222. *The Tribune*, (Lahore), April 15, 1939, p. 17.
223. *Ibid.*
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ibid.*
226. *Ibid.*
227. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, December 21, 1975, p. 2.

Also: See *Statesman*, April 6, 1939 and *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 7, 1939.
228. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi. *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, December, 7, 1975, p. 2.
229. *Ibid.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, November 3, 1975, p. 3.
230. Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, *op. cit.*, April 13, 1939, item 4.
231. *The Tribune* (Lahore), April 28, 1938, p. 1.
232. Pir Mohammad Afzal Makhdoomi, *op. cit.*, *The Aina (Weekly)*, Srinagar, p. 2.
233. *The Hindustan Times*, June 22, 1939, p. 4.

234. *The Presidential Address delivered by Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq at the special session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference at the Pather Masjid, Srinagar*, pp. 1-15.
235. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
236. *The Hindust Times*, June 12, 1939, p. 4.
237. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, June 21, 1932, p. 2.
238. *Ibid.*
239. Hudiabiya is a plain, to the north of Mecca. In Zul-Quad A.H. 6, Prophet Mohammad (peace be on his soul) desired to perform the Umra or lesser pilgrimage. Unarmed and accompanied by 1400 to 1500 followers, the Prophet marched to Mecca to perform the rites of pilgrimage. This was not to the liking of the Pagan autocracy at Mecca. The Pagans took alarm and in breach of all Arab traditions they prepared to prevent the peaceful party and marched out to fight them. The Prophet then turned to the west of the road, encamped at Hudiabiya where negotiation took place which resulted into the Covenant of Fealty between the two parties. The treaty of Hudiabiya stipulated among other things any tribe or person was free to join either party or make an alliance with it. A. Yussuf Ali, *The Holy Quran*, (Lebanon, DARL ARABIA, Beirut), p. 6089.
240. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, June 21, 1939, p. 2.
241. *Ibid.*
242. *Al-Islah (Weekly)*, Srinagar, June 16, 1939.
243. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, June 21, 1939, p. 2.
244. *Al-Islah (Weekly)*, *op. cit.*
245. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, *op. cit.*
246. *Al-Islah*, Srinagar, *op. cit.*
247. *Ibid.*
248. P.N. Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
249. *The Khalid*, Srinagar, June 21, 1939, p. 3.
250. *Al-Islah (Weekly)*, Srinagar, *op. cit.*
251. *Ibid.*
252. *Ibid.*
253. *The Hindustan Times*, June 12, 1939, p. 4.
254. *The Ranbir*, Jammu, July 17, 1939. Following were the nominated members of the Working Committee of the National Conference: Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Pt. Jia Lal Kilam, Ahmad Yar Khan, Sardar Budh Singh, Khwaja G.M. Sadiq, Ft. P.N. Bazaz, Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, Pt. Kashyapabandhu, Mr. Allah Rakha Sagar, Lala Girdhari Lal Anand, Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan, Maulana Mohammad Yasin, Moulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi, Ghulam Ahmad Bhatt, Maulana Mohammad Hussain, Choudhary Mohammad Abdullah Bhali, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Aga Syed Hussain Jalali.
255. *The Hindustan Times*, June 20, 1939, p. 8.

Summary and Conclusion

The basic cause of a people's unrest throughout the world has been socio-economic and political. The natural urge of a human being is freedom in its totality. Man loves his environment and his own way of life. When this equilibrium is disturbed he feels suffocated and it is the logical corollary that he tries to free himself from the fetters may be even the imposition of an alien way of life.

The struggle for freedom in Jammu and Kashmir also followed on those very lines and was the outcome of economic exploitation, social maladjustment and political domination of an autocratic rule. The Dogras who ruled over Jammu and Kashmir for more than one hundred years had failed to generate among the millions of their subjects any sense of identity of interests with ruling class. There is no doubt that the Dogra rule was an improvement upon their predecessors in that they had placed the State on modern lines, establishing a centralised government; permitting the western system of education in the schools and colleges; constructing roads and canals and installing the electricity which gave certainly a new shape to the State. But the basic structure of the political system remained feudalistic in character. Of all the subjects, it was the Muslim community who constituted 77.4 per cent of the total population of the State which suffered most miserably. A humiliating discrimination was often meted out to the

Kashmiris whom the Dogras regarded as purchased serfs and who were required, under all circumstances, to pay an unswerving loyalty to the State as well as its ruler. This state of their existence had made the Kashmiris in general and the Kashmiri Muslims in particular, restive for self-identity with the corresponding growth of consciousness and awakening in the entire Indian subcontinent.

The reassertion of the Kashmiris was thus a historical necessity. This necessity, in turn, gave rise to a vigorous battle for self-identity of the people under an imposed political system which had rendered them not only sullen and submissive but also reduced them to the status of strangers in their own homeland. This self-reassertion was first expressed, in an organised manner, through a process of self-examination and self criticism of their respective communities by both the Hindus and the Muslims. The result of this self-realisation was the birth of socio-religious reform movements in the State with a view to bringing about a change in the outlook of the members of their own communities, the need of the time being to rid the society from medieval obscurantism, to enable the social organism to adjust itself to the changed times and situations which the western rationalism in Indian subcontinent had to an appreciable extent affected and influence of which was also being felt in the Jammu and Kashmir State. Thus the reform movements started by the Hindus and the Muslims of Kashmir in the 20th century corresponded to similar movements started by the leaders of the reform movements in 19th century British India. These movements in Kashmir strove to bring about a change in the socio-religious outlook of the two communities. These movements brought home upon their respective followers that the outmoded social customs and practices that had been observed or traditionally accepted as norms in the name of religions were not only irrational and unlawful but also the cause of their weakness as well as social and economic inequality. By preaching reforms, the social reformers of both the communities adopted certain similar methods. Both of them advocated a change aiming at securing cohesion, unity, cooperation, fellow-feeling etc., among the members of their respective communities. But the two communities, at the

same time, followed two separate lines of thought and action. Both of them used religion as a motivating force for social activity. The Hindus advocated the cause of "Hindu-Sangathan" and the Muslims the brotherhood of Islam. The Muslims laid stress on the concepts of self-respect, self-reliance and self-help as the main weapons with which they could free themselves from ignorance and inarticulate sufferings. The chief objective of this mission was to secure self-identity so that they obtained for themselves an honourable status in social, economic and political spheres which under the then prevailing system was almost denied to them. The socio-religious reform movements were, therefore, naturally connected with economic and political objectives and were interdependent. They generated both social consciousness and political awakening and played an important part in the history of the people of the State. Religion played an exceptional role in mobilising social forces and in rousing them to a sense of awakening. This role played by religion was significant in that it ultimately paved the way for anti-feudal and anti-colonial trends in the political movement.

The analysis of the socio-economic and political situation since 1848 to 1931 has already been revealed in the present study.¹ The people in general and the Muslim masses in particular were groaning under the feudal and despotic rule of the Dogra Prince. Before 1931, the popular resentment against the Dogra autocracy and its related institutions was exhibited by the Muslim subjects at several times² and each time they were suppressed either at the point of the bayonet or the military threat. The vital role played by the erstwhile Muslim leadership during the first three decades of the present century not only generated the social and political awakening among the Muslims but also made them fight for their socio-economic and political rights. For the achievement of their goal, the Muslim leaders always adopted the method of constitutional agitation, though some times, under dire circumstances, the Muslim masses had to resort to open confrontation. This open confrontation marked the special feature of the Muslim struggle for the achievement of their rights during the twenties of the present century.³ This new dimension of the Muslim struggle was the product of interplay of a number of historical antecedents,

forces and factors which had been generated by the feudalistic social and economic order and despotic rule of the Dogras. Also, the political events in British India during this period had a tremendous impact on the people of Kashmir. Under such circumstances, the people could no longer live in isolation when the surging waves of a revolutionary storm were moving fast against the rocks of British imperialism in India. Influenced as they were by the political upheavals in British India, the people of Kashmir also chose the path of a revolutionary struggle for their own emancipation from the shackles of an imposed political system. The initiative in this open struggle lay with the majority of the population—the Muslim subjects of the State.

The July 13, 1931 was not a totally new event in the history of the freedom struggle in Kashmir. It was, in fact, the nadir point of the erstwhile struggles launched by the Muslim subjects in one form or the other. The July 13, 1931 assumes importance and uniqueness in that the movement was conducted organisedly with a definite objective and purpose. Its main purpose was to secure justice for downtrodden and subdued humanity. The political goal of the movement was to secure to the people of the State liberty—social, political and economic. It was, therefore, a war between the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed and the master and the underdog. The means employed to achieve the end was not based on any particular philosophy or ideology. That every thing is fair in love and war, appears to have been the main principle of the revolutionaries at the moment. It was love for human-values, for freedom of man from despotic rule, for free and fearless life and elementary rights of liberty for the downtrodden. It was a war against all those who were friends of despotism, autocracy, feudalism and the developing capitalism. Religion, as means employed, played a very significant role in the revolutionary process.

It is a matter of day to day experience and common knowledge that when a country or a people fight national struggles, their slogans, their use of political symbols, their approach and even their mode of agitation are based on their beliefs and institutions, practices and practicability of the situation. There-

fore the Islamic touch and Muslim colour of the struggle for freedom in Jammu and Kashmir State from 1931 to June, 1939 was but natural. This did not, however, make the movement in any sense communal. History stands witness to the fact that when a people are helpless and submissive, living a life of misery, poverty, serfdom and sufferings under an imposed political system, religion becomes a vital force with the oppressed. It is an expression of the distressed state of mind and a protest against oppression and exploitation. Marx has said:⁴

"Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the soul of the soulless conditions."

Again, Federic Eng'les, in his *Dialectics of Nature*, quoting Karl Marx, says that religion is the protest against the real misery of the world and a protest against the inhumanity of the feudal oppression.⁵ Under conditions prevailing in feudal-ridden society characterised by medieval obscurantism, religion becomes a social force and acquires the social attributes. It positively plays a contributory role in the life history of a people. Viewed from this point of view, the role played by religion as a contributory force in the freedom struggle of the State against the evils of autocracy and irresponsible governmental system was not communally-oriented based on a particular religious ideology as the movement has been dubbed by certain quarters, especially non-Muslim subjects of the State. Thus the question regarding the true nature and character of the movement requires a thorough and careful examination.

The freedom movement in Kashmir was started in an organised way by the majority population—the Muslim subjects of the State. The movement was conducted under the banner of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Certain religious slogans as well as symbols were also made use of in the beginning of the movement by the Muslims. But does it mean that the movement was communal? Many allegations were levelled against the Muslims to prove the communal character of the movement. It was alleged that the aim of the agitators was to dethrone the Hindu ruler of the State

and establish in his place the Muslim rule. But this was not a fact. It is true that "thouheen-i-Quran" in Jammu gave birth to an open confrontation between the Muslim subjects and the Government and "the Quran and Islam" became a unifying force in all villages, towns and cities among the Muslims who were hitherto scattered, sullen and submissive. Religion this time gave the Muslims a spirit of valour, a feeling of oneness, a sense of self-realisation and, ultimately, a power and strength to resistance against the forces of oppression and exploitation. It played a role which was essentially anti-feudal and anti-autocratic in character. Religion, as a political weapon, was used for the achievement of political freedom and justice for human beings. Its progressive character was manifest in that while the Muslims demanded freedom and justice, they did not, however, base these demands on any religious grounds. Their demands for democratisation of political institutions of the State⁶ were not communal but secular and national in character. It was because of this revolutionary programme for the attainment of freedom and democracy that the movement became not only popular with the Muslim masses but gained momentum in a very short period of time. It is, therefore, wrong to suppose that the movement was a preplanned conspiracy against the Hindu ruler of the State and his Hindu subjects. Had it been so there would have never occurred schisms among the ranks of the Muslim leadership on the ideological basis just a little later after the movement had been started. According to P.N. Bazaz, "the 1931 revolution was not a communal disturbance; it should be called a national revolt because it broke the chains of slavery..."⁷

It has been revealed⁸ that in its initial stage the movement for freedom was spearheaded by heterogeneous elements of the Muslim community, representing the modern school of thought and the old school of conservative orthodoxy of the upper class. But it was the vocal and revolutionary middle class which remained support of the movement till 1933. It also fell on the shoulders of the middle-class to lead the movement on the principles of secularism, nationalism and democracy to its final destination. It had the good fortune of finding the charismatic leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah suppor-

ted by the radical force of the Muslim Conference that had risen to the political prominence through their revolutionary role, courage to face boldly the consequences of their political action as also through their advanced outlook on social, political and economic life of the society to see that the freedom movement was at no cost permitted to become either the victim of communalism or the hot-bed of communal politics of factionalism among its own ranks whenever it raised its ugly head. Moreover, the factionalism of religious orthodoxy with its stress only on the Muslim rights and Islamic touches was opposed tooth and nail throughout its political career by the modern, progressive and radical Muslim school of thought.

Besides, from 1933 onwards the freedom struggle underwent an important change and development in its non-communal character which drew lower middle classes, lower-classes, labourers, peasants and the youth to its platform and that not only contributed an element of militancy to the activities of the movement but also led to the declaration of secular views about their political objectives on their part. The participants invited the non-Muslims to join the Muslims and make a common cause with them against a common enemy—the rule of autocracy. Not only the exploitative character of the politico-economic system of the Dogra rule based on feudal foundations but also the imperialistic rule of the British in India was exposed by the radical wing of the Muslim Conference. The people were acquainted with the nature of class-society and its evils. The struggle was interpreted to the masses in terms of class-conflict between the rich and the poor; the capital and the working class proletariat and the propertied and the propertyless. The benefits of Hindu-Muslim unity and of a joint struggle were the main content of their political speeches long before the Muslim Conference was converted into National Conference. In fact the Muslim Conference had been broadening the scope of the movement in order to accommodate and adjust the non-Muslims in its fold. This process became more vividly discernible from 1935 onwards.

While the Muslim Conference was busy with streamlining the movement into the directions of secular nationalism, it was, at the same time, purging the movement of all those anti-

secular elements within its ranks that had been creating hurdles in the way of secularisation of politics. Thus, by 1936 the Conference succeeded in ousting from the movement the religious orthodoxy belonging to the old school of thought. The other proof of non-communal character of the Muslim Conference was its love for secular politics. The Conference gave full support to all those progressive forces whose ideology also aimed at the achievement of responsible government based on principles of democracy and nationalism. The Muslim Conference not only welcomed the emergence of the Kashmir Youth League, Mazdoor Sabha, Kisan Sabha and Student Federations but also encouraged the growth of such political developments by actively participating in these movements. But for the support of the Muslim Conference, the emergence as well as the success of these movements would have been impossible.

The critics of the Muslim Conference had also held the opinion about the communal character of the movement on the ground that the movement was inspired and supported by the forces of Muslim communalism from outside the State. They also held that there was communist hand behind the movement. Both these views are not only contradictory but also groundless. It has been shown⁹ that two main Muslim organisations, the Ahmadiyas, a non-political and a religious organisation and the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Hind, were active supporters of the movement. But their support was not based on any communal ideology. It was a moral support based on humanitarian principles. Both these organisations supported the Kashmir Muslim's demand for democratic rights and the establishment of a responsible government under the Maharaja's rule in Kashmir.

So far as the Ahmadiyas were concerned, they never believed in or preached communalism to the Muslims of Kashmir. Even in secular politics the Ahmadiyas believed in "the virtue of forbearance declaring that the very religion for which they fought forbade them (Muslims) to quarrel. To say that Hinduism was any religion born in India was to sacrifice religious consciousness at the political altar. Every true Muslim was born for the good of God's creatures and, he was

to serve the neighbour of his kin as well as his neighbour."¹⁰ It is to be noted that so long as the Ahmadiyas were sincerely participating in the movement they played an excellent role but the moment their religious outlook did not find favour with the secular trend of the Muslim Conference they were expelled from the Muslim Conference.

Similarly, the support extended by the Ahrars to the freedom struggle was also not based on communal considerations. The Ahrars were politically secular nationalists who had worked hand and glove with Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience Movement and had suffered imprisonment for the cause of India's freedom. It was the Ahrar leadership that was mainly responsible for and instrumental in helping the movement on secular principles. They had officially declared that their support to the Muslims of Kashmir for the attainment of responsible government in the State did never mean the dethronement of the ruler. It was the political creed of the Ahrars to help the growth of Hindu-Muslim unity and as such they had instructed the Muslim leadership of Kashmir movement to adhere to the same without any let or hindrance. It was, therefore, surprising on the part of those who characterised Ahrars as communalists. The non-Muslims, it appears, were, in fact, ignorant about the ideological conviction of the Ahrar politics and only by figment of their imagination they called them communalists and Kashmir freedom movement as communal movement? How could one deny the fact that Maulana Haib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi was one of the important participants in the Ludhiana States Peoples Conference that supported the resolution on Kashmir? The role of Ahrars against feudalism and rule of British imperialism in India can not be easily set aside. By their activities, the Ahrars contributed a great deal of secular content to the freedom movement in Kashmir.

The allegation that the freedom movement in Kashmir had communist hand behind it is also baseless. The fact appears that the Muslim intellectuals must have received inspiration from Indian Communists or Socialists or their ideologies and literature and that they had made a progressive approach to the problem faced by them during the actual struggle. It has been discussed¹¹ that the young Muslim radicals without being

communists or socialists or subscribing convictionally to those ideologies, played both anti-feudal and anti-imperialist role during 1933-1934. This radical role of the Muslim youngmen was a positive contribution to the development of progressive ideas which during the second-half of the thirties of the present century gained more and more momentum when both Muslim and non-Muslim youngmen actually not only came in direct contact with men like Dr. K.M. Ashraf and received instructions as to how the movement should take its course on progressive lines. This was a great achievement on the part of the people of Kashmir. To ascribe the communist touch to the movement as early as 1931 by the non-Muslims was to present the struggle for freedom, led by the Muslims against the Government of the Maharaja as well as the British Government in India as anti imperialists and anti-Maharaja was aimed at seeing the movement crushed because both the British Government and the Maharaja were staunch anti-communists. This attitude of non-Muslims created hurdles in the path of the freedom struggle. The non-Muslims were not prepared to accept the movement to be led by the Muslims.

The most glaring proof of the secular and non-communal character of the freedom movement was exhibited by the Muslims at the time of conversion of the movement from "Muslim Conference" into "National Conference" and before it was actually converted into a secular body, the Muslim Conference had already set its boat to sail on the waves of nationalism, democracy and responsible government. It advocated Hindu-Muslim unity and consolidation of all democratic forces for a united action. Not only this, the leadership of the Conference opposed and criticised the All India Muslim League. It is to be remembered that non-Muslims were placed in comparatively a far better position, economically and educationally, than the Muslims. This position had obtained for them a status of superiority over the majority population—the Muslim subjects of the State. The non-Muslims also enjoyed the privileges of sharing the administrative responsibility and this power was a great instrument in their hands to make their importance being felt by the Muslims and other weaker sections of their own community. In order to retain this position, without being challenged or interfered, the non-Muslims allied them-

selves with the ruling machinery of the State. Whenever they felt any threat to their service interests, they would feel thorny and restive. On the basis of their religious affinity with the ruler, the Hindus thought that their interests (social, political, religious, economic and cultural) would be best protected under the rule of the Maharaja alone. These considerations were uppermost in their minds and any other alternative system, they deemed, would affect their interests abnormally. That is the reason why when the Muslim masses rose against the irresponsibly governed State in 1931, the non-Muslims, instead of identifying themselves with the popular upsurge or instead of adopting an attitude of neutrality, stood against it.

The Hindu mind was obsessed with the fear of the majority rule in the event the demands and rights were granted to the Muslims and the responsible government established in the State. Like the Muslim separatists in British India, the non-Muslims in Kashmir showed, therefore, an attitude of reactionarism and antagonism towards the popular movement for freedom and democracy. The fear of Muslim dominance always haunted them, making them perturbed as to their then existing positions in the administrative hierarchy as well as their future security. It was mainly this fear which made them oppose the freedom movement and characterise it as communal and aiming at establishing Muslim rule in Jammu and Kashmir. At every stage the attempt of the Hindu politicians was to oppose the Muslim demands which were of national character. On the other hand, the Hindu demands presented to the Maharaja or his Government were of sectional character, consisting of such undemocratic and reactionary demands as the establishment of an Assembly with a non-Muslim majority, allotment of more than half of the nominated seats to the non-Muslim communities, enfranchising only 5 per cent of the total population, opposition to the adult suffrage, necessary high property and educational qualifications for enfranchisement. The non-Muslims also demanded the protection and various other safeguards relating to their religion and religious places; language, literature, and culture. They always expressed their loyalty to the ruler more on considerations of religious affinity with him—a Hindu ruler

of a Hindu State—particularly propagated by the All India Hindu Maha Sabha. Was not this attitude of the non-Muslims in terms of political behaviour sectarian as well as reactionary? It exhibited their narrow-minded political outlook, hindering the progress of freedom movement in the State. Vinayak N. Mehta, Minister of Revenue and Development under Maharaja Hari Singh's rule wrote:¹³

"...The importance of the politician here also has not shed his political milk teeth. Yet is a menace. I talk to them like a Neeta...We have a triangular contest here; the Kashmiri Pandits, the Jammu country Hindus and extra-territorially galvanised Muslims. I am trying my best to remove friction and create harmony. The result can be only a measure of the honesty of my purpose. I have tried to put my heart in the Pandit community. They feel they were indispensable once and they are wanted nowhere. It is the feeling of being disinterested in your own home. The fact is that they as the Kayasthas par-excellence held the key of the administration. Now the Punjabi Hindu and the waking...Muslim is ousting him. The Pandit is apt to take too much of the view of the frog in the well. He does not realise that the world is altered."

In fact, the Pandits had a sweet imagination about the revolutionary upsurge of the Kashmiri Muslims. They had not only miscalculated its dimensions but undermined its role. Their main purpose of opposing the freedom movement was first, to retain, at any cost, the status-quo, in the then prevailing conditions, of their positions in the State-administration and to strive for more and more share and still higher positions in the decision-making bodies of State machinery. This quest for power had propelled them to play an anti-people's role by identifying themselves with the forces of autocracy. By aligning themselves with the forces of reaction, the non-Muslims did not exhibit any political wisdom. By opposing the movement they showed their unwillingness to accept the leadership of the Muslims whom they always regarded as community of "masons and carpenters" or "hewers of wood and drawers of water".

That the non-Muslims were not ready to participate in the movement led by the Muslims can be substantiated by the fact that the former remained generally aloof from it in spite of the issue of National Demand which categorically declared "an unswerving loyalty to the person and throne of the ruler under whose aegis the ultimate goal of responsible government was to be realised in the State".¹⁴ The political demonstration in connection with the National Demand frustrated the hopes of the Muslims because hardly one per cent of the non-Muslims took part in those demonstrations. About ninety-nine per cent non-Muslims opposed the National Demand on the ground that its acceptance by them would mean the acceptance of the Muslim rule. But the Muslims greeted even this insignificant participation by the non-Muslims in the movement with great enthusiasm and liberality.

Not only this, even those leading non-Muslims who had claimed to have turned the tide of the freedom movement from communal to secular character were not in favour of a locally established secular organisation. They wanted in fact the establishment of Indian National Congress in Kashmir as early as 1938. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz wrote:¹⁵

"...I am trying to get a congress committee established at Srinagar and various other important towns in Kashmir. I hope that these very congress committees will function as branches of the States Peoples Conference. I also expect that we will be able to enroll an appreciable number of our organisations."

In view of the above inferences, the attitude of the non-Muslims towards the freedom movement was politically unsound in view of the political situation obtaining in British India in those days. If the Muslims were communal, they could have easily avoided or evaded the conditions of the non-Muslims to get their organisation, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference converted into the National Conference, especially at a time when the All India Muslim League was busy in framing its official policy for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. The leaders of the Muslim Conference, before the

official policy of the Muslim League was made public, had willingly and on a broader basis preferred the secular nationalism to the two-nation theory of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In fact the leaders of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference opposed the very existence of Pakistan which they thought was theoretically unsound and practically irrational and detrimental to the cause of India's freedom movement. Was not this sufficient proof of the secular character of the freedom movement led by the Muslim Conference?

The character of the freedom movement in Kashmir from 1931-1933, a crucial period in the political history of the Jammu and Kashmir State, has been very correctly drawn by the authors of "A contemporary History of India". They say:¹⁸

"In 1931-33 anti-feudal risings broke out in Indian States. The events in Jammu and Kashmir assumed most menacing proportions. A mass movement against the colonial rulers and their puppets, the Maharaja, a Dogra by race and Hindu by religion had been in progress since 1931 . . . They cruelly exploited all sections of the population. the largest of whom were Kashmiris by race and Muslim by religion . . . In this State there existed no self-administering organs. The whole population was without the most elementary rights. And the Kashmiris were subjected to both national and religious oppression. They could not freely perform their religious rites, teach their children in the schools in their native language and develop their national literature, etc. They were not taken into the army . . . This . . . deprived the ruined and impoverished Kashmir peasants of the form of income derived from military service . . . The demands put forward by the organisation of the bourgeoisie formed in 1931-32, interests of the Kashmir bourgeoisie assumed the leadership of the mass national liberation movement in the State."

It goes to the credit of the Muslim population of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in general and, the father of the Kashmir freedom movement, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in particular, that, when they realised the dividing game of the Dogra ruler,

they squeezed out and threw away religion and communal touches from the movement and adopted the banner of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (Blood red with plough in the middle) and not the usual Islamic banner (green with crescent in the centre) under which the movement had initially been organised.

Besides, the socio-economic and political structures the British devised in the Indian States were only a part of their colonial designs. The Dogras were integrated in a frame of their designs as the other Princes and the Nawabs were. The spontaneous upheaval against the Dogra regime was, therefore, ultimately a process to undo what the British had wrought in Indian States. The movement launched by Muslims in the state, initially to find redress of their grievances, led to the inevitable goal; the entire people of the State seeking reorganisation of the social, economic and political organisations and institutions fostered by the Dogras. The culmination of this protracted and long process in the demand for responsible Government and finally the formation of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference indicated the identification of the people of the State with the people of India in their quest for freedom from servitude and foreign rule.

The legacy and the heritage which the Muslim Conference left behind it: the spirit of struggle for freedom and democracy, the fight for justice and democratic values of secularism, nationalism and the faith in the ultimate power of the people, penetrated deep into the political life and the history of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. After the momentous decision of June 1939, this legacy and heritage became the basis of the freedom struggle in the State. This very spirit resounded through the decisive struggle which the National Conference launched against the ruler in 1946 when the people of Kashmir demanded the dissolution of the Treaty of Amritsar and asked the Maharaja to quit Kashmir.

The State's accession with the union of India after independence was in fact effected in view of the special circumstances under which the people of Jammu and Kashmir had fought for the rights,—social, economic and political—during a long period of seventeen years of vigorous struggle.

REFERENCES

1. Vide Chap. I.
2. Vide Chap. II.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Karl Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegels' Philosophy of Right*, quoted by K. Domodaran, *Indian Thought : A Critical Study*, (Asia Publishing House), p. 68.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
6. Vide Chap. III.
7. Address delivered by Pt. P.N. Bazaz at the Special Session of the Muslim Conference he'd on June 11, 1939, (Srinagar: *Al-Islah*, June 16, 1939).
8. Vide Chap. III.
9. Vide Chap. III.
10. "Speech delivered by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din of Woking Mosque (London) in Kanpur, India on November 6, 1924, under the auspices of Hindu-Muslim Conciliation Board", *The Civil and Military Gazette Lahore* November 8, 1924, p. 10.
11. Vide Chap. V.
12. *Ibid.*
13. "Letter (Private) from Vinayak N. Mehta to Tej Bahadur Sapru 1933", *Sapru Private and Personal Papers*, (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library).
14. Vide Chap. V.
15. Letter from Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz to Balwant Rai Mehta, General Secretary AISPC, Bombay; No. 19/9/C/38 dated Srinagar (Kashmir) May 3, 1938", *File No. 92 Part I, All India States Peoples Conference Papers* (New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library).
16. V.V. Balabushevich and A.M. Dyakov (Eds.), *A Contemporary History of India*, (New Delhi, Peoples Publishing House, 1964), pp. 266-67.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Memorial presented to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir

**The Honourable Prime Minister,
His Highness' Government,
Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu.**

Sir,

May I venture to take the liberty of addressing this communication to you on the present position of the Kashmiri Pandit community in Kashmir. Recent events have had a most detrimental effect on the economic and political and consequently the social security of the community. In order to have a proper comprehension of the situation in which the community unfortunately finds itself placed today, I deem it necessary to outline briefly the historical background from which it has sprung and the influences which have moulded its genius as also the circumstances which today conspire to strangle that genius. If the community is to be rescued from the doom, which, if the present circumstances remain unchecked and unremedied, is inevitable, it is necessary to put into practice the suggestions made at the conclusion of this representation. These suggestions do not comprise any extravagant demand; they are only a claim on be-

half of the community to be allowed reasonable facilities to continue its existence in a manner consistent with its past history and present achievements.

Kashmiri Brahmins have during the last two thousand years and more held a very high position in the intellectual life of India and not of India only; for Chinese historical records mention Kashmiri Brahmin missionaries propagating Buddhism in China in the early centuries of the christian era. Their literature and their works of art, which still are some of the finest in the world, bear testimony to their greatness. Though today in the State they are considered an unwarlike race, in the medieval times, more than once they swept out of their mountain fastnesses and extended their sway over vast regions in India and Central Asia. Mahmood of Ghazni who spread devastation in North India was unable to penetrate into Kashmir, and Kashmir still retained its independence for two centuries after mussalmans had established their empire throughout the length and breadth of India. Muslim domination in Kashmir, when it occurred, was not due to an invasion from outside but was the result of infiltration and conversions from within. But all through the vicissitudes of centuries, the Kashmiri Brahmin community who was the flower of the population retained its individuality and notwithstanding untold hardships, kept its flag flying. Throughout these centuries, whatever the circumstances and whoever the rulers, the Kashmiri Pandit community had a potent voice in the administration and determination of the destinies of their country. As late as century ago it was on the initiative and with the active cooperation of the Kashmiri Pandit community that Maharaja Ranjit Singh occupied Kashmir.

Since then, as ever before, this community has rendered loyal and devoted service to the rulers of the land. On account of their special hereditary aptitude they have taken the maximum advantage of the educational facilities afforded by Government to all communities alike, and this community, so far as male literacy is concerned, is one of the most advanced in the world, as the proportion of literacy among men is practically cent per cent. When Sanskrit gave place to Persian we adopted the latter language as our own, so much so that our culture is now as much Persian as Sanskritic. When Persian gave place to

English we took to the new language with the same avidity and filled the new administrative departments as we had done the old, rendering, more often than not, for a bare pittance, the same singlehearted service to Government that our ancestors had done before. We preferred the long hours and the meagre emoluments which are the lot of subordinate functionaries in public offices to more lucrative employment because by doing so we followed the bent of our minds, as for countless generations, penmanship has been our hereditary craft and public service our hereditary occupation. There is not a single department of the administration except the Army from which we have been debarred (though there is no such bar in the British Indian Army who contains several Kashmiri Pandits holding the King's Commission) which does not owe its reputation, such as it possesses, for efficiency primarily to the Kashmiri Pandit element in it. From the frozen heights of Ladakh to the malaria-infested valleys of Muzaffarabad, whatever progress has been achieved in whatever branch of the administration, be it road construction, detection of crime, spread of education, provision of medical aid, the Kashmiri Pandit had had a dominant share in its achievement though being usually in a subordinate position, the only reward he has reaped for his incessant toil and hardship has been an occasional smile and a chit from his officer.

But today in spite of all the services he has rendered and all the privations he has endured, he finds himself faced with a situation which threatens him and his children with political and economic extinction. Not only are the Kashmiri Pandits deprived of their occupation of which they enjoyed almost a monopoly even under the worst of Phathan rulers, but very frequently they are also being deprived of opportunities, which, in bare justice, those who are actually in service are entitled to claim as a matter of inalienable right. It is not denied that with the change of circumstances, communities and nations have to readjust themselves, but we urge it emphatically that it is absolutely unjust to force the pace of reorientation of the entire cultural and economic outlook of a whole community, and still more unjust to destroy the vested interests and the principal means of livelihood of a distinguished and talented race with a stroke of the pen, and without giving it time to readjust itself with the changing

times. It cannot be denied, and it were, there are facts to prove the...futility of the denial, that whatever the name given to the so-called re-organisation of State administration, call it the Efficiency Commission or the Retrenchment Commission or whatever Commission or Committee the result is always the same; the axe falls on the head of the Kashmiri Pandit. The whole philosophy of the remodelling of the administration can be summed up in the sentence "Whoever is in the Kashmiri Pandit must be out". Denied the privileges of the majority on account of the smallness of our numbers, we are at the same time denied the protection due to a minority and doubly due to a minority community with our history, services and educational attainments. We recognise the necessity of the re-orientation of our outlook and we are aware of the difficulties which Government have to face under the stress of existing circumstances, but at the same time we insist that Government have a definite obligation to discharge in relation to us and it would be height of injustice if that obligation is ignored and we are thrown over board. Instances are not wanting where other Governments placed in a similar situation have acted in a fundamentally different spirit and with a sympathy worthy of admiration. Take the case of Anglo-Indian community in India, which is much smaller in number than ours and incomparably smaller when the population of the whole of India is taken into consideration. This community during the last 150 years has occupied a very privileged position in the British Indian Services. The security of this position is now threatened by the urgent demand for Indianization. Throughout the discussion on Indian Constitutional Reform, the representatives of the Anglo-Indian community have urged that their present members in services should remain intact at least for 30 years, during which period they will be able to adjust themselves to changed circumstances and to adopt other avocations. It is understood from the papers published a couple of weeks ago, that the British Government have in fact given a pledge that in the new constitutional changes safeguards would be devised for the economic security of the Anglo-Indian community in India. Surely the claims of the Kashmiri Pandit community in the Jammu and Kashmir State are not less than those of the Anglo-Indian community in Briti-

sh India, and their case stands in the need of at least equally sympathetic consideration. After all an answer must be provided to the question: "What are the Kashmiri Pandits to do?" They are deprived of their hereditary occupation. Difficulties are placed in their being recognised as an agricultural community which could enable them to buy land and settle down to agriculture. No special facilities are given to them in obtaining technical education and no encouragement provided in pursuing commercial enterprise. Even if such facilities had been given, it would have taken many years before proper adjustment could take place, for the entire mental landscape of a community cannot be effected and re-arranged in a day. How much longer will it take without any facilities being given?

By virtue of their religion and of the common interests as also by reason of their deep and abiding sense of loyalty Kashmiri Pandits are identified with Government by the opponents of Government. Kashmiri Pandits are proud of this, but such an identification has serious drawbacks and under certain conditions, for example every time a clash occurs between the rising tide of education and communalism on the one side and Government on the other, the Kashmiri Pandits are the first target for attacks, as in the eyes of Muslim agitators, injury to a Kashmiri Pandit whether in the service of the Government or not, of whatever sex or age, is identical with injury to Government. Government, being an intangible thing and not easily susceptible of being overthrown, the first objective of any outburst of agitation in Kashmir is the destruction of the Kashmiri Pandits' property and sometimes of life. We do not mention this by way of accusation or complaint, but only as a statement of fact in support of our contention that if we are attacked on one side we are entitled to being defended and strengthened by the other on whose account we are attacked. We should not be ground to powder between the upper mill stone of the Government Retrenchment or Efficiency Commissions and the policy of exclusion from public services and lower mill stone of communal attack on our life and property by unbridled subversive agitation. Our natural hereditary attitude, our religious obligations, our sense of duty, no less than our self interest demand that while peacefully living with other communities we

should maintain steadfast loyalty towards our ruler and his Government. But it has to be recognised that we, as a community must live and have a distinct and honourable standing compatible with our history and our attainments, and not as pariahs and strangers within the State existing on the difference of other people. The time has come when as a community we have come to a decision and chalk out a policy to prevent our extinction and what is worse than extinction, our degradation which is progressing apace on account of the terrible unemployment prevailing amongst us. It must be remembered that unemployment in a community like ours is a gangrene of much worse type than in other communities because all our young men are well-educated. If they cannot turn their hands to useful things, their potentiality for mischief is far greater than in the case of young men of any other mischief community. I do not wish to be considered hysterical on the subject but the tragedy enacted before our eyes is so deep and so all pervading that it is impossible to measure the extent of devastation already committed. Our demands are not extravagant. We want a guarantee for security in services in the same manner as the British Government are giving to Anglo-Indians and the domiciled Europeans in India, though our claims for such guarantees are far higher than those of these communities as the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans come into existence only a century and a half ago at the earliest and we have been living in this country for thousands of years and the monuments which dot the countryside everywhere bear witness to our honourable existence.

Recognising that, in the altered conditions we will eventually, have to adopt other avocations, we want that special facilities be given to us here and now, so that the community may pass through the period of transition without the much jolting of its framework. Some of our demands are:

- (1) Recognition of the Kashmiri Pandit community as an agricultural community without any disability in the sale and purchase of land in every part of the State.
- (2) Special facilities in technical education by grant of

special scholarships in the State and foreign technical institutions.

- (3) Special facilities in the grant of Government Contracts especially in the P.W.D. and Civil Supplies where our contractors are handicapped in the interest of non-state subject.
- (4) Financial aid from the Dharamarth Department to start industries on the security of immovable property without interest or at least a low rate of interest. Such aid has been granted before to certain persons of other communities.
- (5) In order that our interest might be adequately represented in the proposed Assembly, at least two Kashmiri Pandit Councillors should be nominated. This is the mere necessity as in the new franchise proposal the number of Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) is 3 out of 75 in place of 4 out of 63 as proposed by Mr. Galancy.
- (6) Maintenance of the strength of the Kashmiri Pandit representation in the services for a period of 30 years at the figure at which it stood on 13th July 1931, on which date the present Campaign agitation was openly started. As stated above the Kashmiri Pandits are the community which suffered the most on account of the retrenchments that have since taken place, because for one reason or the other the Departments where Kashmiri Pandits are either not employed or are employed in small numbers, for instance the Military Department and Minister-in-Waitings Department, have not been very much affected by retrenchments. Curiously enough, even in these Departments, when retrenchment has been made, Kashmiri Pandits have principally suffered. This demand is exactly what the Anglo-Indians are asking in British India and as it is understood are hoping to secure.
- (7) There is no reason why Kashmiri Pandits should be debarred from entering into State Army, when they are given King's Commission in the British Army.
- (8) If the Efficiency Commission is to be kept at all it is essential that it should contain a Kashmiri Pandit

member and its procedure should be revised in such a manner that the persons affected should be given an opportunity to explain their cases before action is taken against them. This is a matter of general public interest.

- (9) (a) Special measures should be taken to protect our religious places. What at present happens is that whenever the mood takes them, irresponsible Muslim agitators come and place a few stones in the compound or in the vicinity of our shrines and raise a Hullabaloo that the land is "Wakaf" and they will erect a mosque. The Government when approached by us instead of warding them off appoint an Arbitration Committee to settle the dispute, though actually there is no dispute, as the land has been in the possession of Hindus for centuries. The local authorities instead of nipping the trouble in the bud take no action until the agitation takes root and the excitement amongst people attains a high pitch.
- (b) Restoration of Hindi to its former position in schools and colleges.
- (10) The following measures are immediately necessary for safeguarding the interest of Kashmiri Pandits actually in service at the present moment:
 - (a) Kashmiri Pandits should not be prevented from promotion when they are due to them according to seniority and efficiency.
 - (b) They should be raised to higher positions as even according to Mr. Galancy, the proportion of the Kashmiri Pandits in the Gazetted staff is not adequate.
 - (c) The Headquarters of the Government should be moved as before from Srinagar to Jammu and vice-versa. Its fixation at particular place is administratively unsound, financially useless, and in fact no real saving is made.
 - (d) Measures should be taken to check the propaganda

in the Muslim press against Hindu officers in general and Kashmiri Pandit officers, who are specially marked for such attention, in particular.

- (11) We have been asking for representation in the State council and we hope that His Highness will graciously be pleased to grant our request.
- (12) Grant of area for plantation to the Kashmiri Pandit and waste lands.

We are sanguine that these requests will receive sympathetic consideration, as our memorial in 1931. The exact words of his gracious declaration are: "I shall always continue to take a deep personal interest in all that concerns the welfare of the Kashmiri Pandit community which, though small in numbers, is the best educated community in the State and comprises the original inhabitants of the country who have maintained their time-honoured traditions." We take our stand on this.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Kashyapa Bandhu.

March 1934.

Appendix B

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In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

Grievances submitted on the 15th of August, 1931

To

Shri Maharaja Sir Hari Singhji Bahadur Inder Mahender
Siper-i-Sultant-i-Englishia, G.C.I.E.V.O.A.D.C.

Maharaja of Jammu, Kashmir and Tibet,
Your Highness

Your Highness' Muslim subjects have been prayerfully desiring for a long time that your august Highness will personally grant your faithful Muslim subjects the opportunity of presenting this petition to your gracious self. Grant of today's audience assures us of the fact that your gracious self will personally attend to the complaints of your faithful subjects. As such your law-abiding and faithful subjects make the following submissions very humbly and respectfully through the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir so that they may be able to discharge their duties and obligations as faithful subjects.

Your Highness' proclamation on the eve of your accession to the throne viz "justice is my religion" has remained the centre of hope for your Muslim subjects. On the basis of this proclamation, the Muslims expected that all their petitions either prior to your accession or after that made through the ministers of the State must have been brought to your kind notice. However the facts show that they have not been submitted in their genuine form. In this connection the efforts of the Muslims that the deputation of their accredited representatives be granted the favour of audience with your Highness have not materialized. Under these circumstances your subjects have at your Highness' instance elected their representatives from Jammu and Kashmir State. They have been favoured with the promise of submitting personally petition to your Highness. Mr. Wakefield went to Jammu and instructed the representatives of that Province to come to Srinagar and participate with the Kashmiri representatives in the submission of their demands.

2. The representatives were collectively busy in compilation of their demands when the vested interests who had so far rendered ineffective the steps to be taken on the complaints of the Muslim subjects through their dominating influence felt apprehensive due to the fact that these complaints (grievances) were promised due attention by your Highness. As such they created obstacles as a precautionary measure in the very initial stage. They gave the matter a communal tinge simply that they may be able to maintain their vested interests. In this connection the Hindu newspapers from the Punjab, the notices published by the Jammu Yuvak Sabha, the speeches delivered in the non-Muslim gatherings—all substantiate our point. The statement that the Muslims want permission for cow-slaughter, destruction of temples and establishment of their own rule has been made absolutely for the purpose of creating in your Highness' mind misgivings against your Muslim subjects and creating unfavourable impression in your mind about them. Surprisingly enough, the government agencies did not take any steps to counter the mischievous allegations made in these newspapers. The Muslims have, however, tried to contradict all these allegations in as unequivocal terms as has been possible

for them to do so. This vicious propaganda has, on the one hand, created a feeling of aversion in your Highness' heart against the Muslims and, on the other hand, it has produced a feeling of hatred against them in the ignorant sections of the average Hindus. The main aim and object behind all these useless efforts has been to prevent the Muslim subjects from gaining audience with your Highness. The vested interests have succeeded in these efforts. The government authorities on the basis of this false propaganda called representatives, informing them that they would be granting the opportunity of presenting their demands after removal of the communal problem. All this has been done in spite of the fact that there was no communal problem on the side of the Muslim subjects and the whole responsibility of communal tug lay on the shoulders of the opposite party. This matter has been insistently and unequivocally explained to the officials. Taking out of a procession on the death of a minor Pandit girl and of cursing of the Muslims in that procession without any reasonable grounds absolutely proves the fact that the vested interests wanted to vitiate the atmosphere.

3. In particular, the reports which have reached your Highness through Raja Hari Krishen Kaul regarding your well-intentioned Muslim subjects are deplorable, sad and very dangerous. Those Muslim subjects who have remained, and will remain faithful and well-wishing for your Highness as a matter of habit, are falsely accused of being ill-wishers of your Highness and the auspicious Prince. The Muslim subjects submit very boldly and frankly that imputation of such dirty charges against them is nothing but an unholy conspiracy against their long-standing traditional loyalty. Some instances of their loyalty may be mentioned for your Highness' consideration in this connection:

- (a) During the life time of late Sir Raja Amar Singh, when certain individuals made a selfish plot on the issue of accession to the throne, it was only your subjects that tried to have their legitimate heir given his due. This effort has borne successful fruit. It represents an outstanding monument of the loyalty and good intentions

of the Muslim subjects towards your Highness and your Highness' dynasty.

- (b) On the eve of late Raja Amar Singh's last sickness, not only the Muslims of the State but all the Muslims as a rule have very sincerely spent large amounts in charity and offered prayers in the mosques and similar other places of worship. In this manner they had given proof of their devoted loyalty to their ruling dynasty.
- (c) The proof of loyalty and sincerity given by the Muslims during your Highness' convalescence from the physical ailment suffered by your august self on the snow-clad mountain of Gulmargh does not deserve to be forgotten by anyone.
- (d) Your Highness is very well aware of the general merry-making celebrated by the Muslims on the eve of your accession to the throne.
- (e) Your Highness had been in France on the auspicious occasion of the Rajkumar's birth. The demonstration of jubilation made by the Muslims on that occasion much beyond their means is not a thing of remote past which needs to be refreshed in one's memory. It is only a matter of recent occurrence.
- (f) On your Highness' return from France, the part taken by the Muslims in your reception has been unparalleled in the history of this State. The picture of zeal and enthusiasm plus the demonstration of joy made by your Muslim subjects for days together is patently known to your august self. In view of all these facts, it is simply a proof of calumnious conspiracy to create such misgivings against them, planned and organised, in an unholy manner for the purpose of causing their ruin and destruction. Very politely we, the Muslim subjects of your Highness, submit that in case some ill-wisher of the State has put such misgivings in your mind, it may be treated as a figment of the accuser's imagination. On behalf of your Muslim subjects we emphatically assure your Highness that in our veins and blood is still dormant that very devotion, sincerity, faith and loyalty that has been there from the very beginning. In

addition to it there can be no parallel to the cooperation and obedience offered by your Muslim subjects to your Highness' government inspite of all these complaints and calumnies spread against them by interested parties. Under these circumstances when the facts have been persisting as submitted above, your grace can judge if it could have been possible for the Muslim subjects to present their demands and prayerful submissions. As such it is not in the fitness of things to present a formal petition in this atmosphere. Nor can they expect justice under these circumstances. Secondly, at this time when your Muslim subjects are victim of extreme tyranny at the hands of the government officials and subject to embarrassment due to their helpless position, it will not be opportune for them to present their petition in this state of restlessness and discontent in which they find themselves at this moment.

4. For the present it is our desire to pinpoint your Highness' attention briefly towards the present day state of affairs. The vested interests have dominating and supreme influence in the State administration. They have tried from the very beginning to defame the Muslims by concealing the reality through misreporting of facts. The best articles written in praise of your Highness' magnanimity and patronage of your subjects have been twisted out of their context and presented in an adverse light. In this way an effort has been made to give bad name to the innocent Muslims.

5. The origin of present day troubles and the story of those tyrannies which have been inflicted upon the Muslim subjects have a long historical background behind them. It is inopportune here to make a mention of these facts. It is important to submit here that the non-Muslims have interfered in the religious affairs of the Muslim subjects under special sentiments. It has started from the government officials who, for instance, have disallowed the reading of Khutba on the eve of Id-ud-Aduha, committed a sacrilegious disrespect of the Holy Quran, resorted to destruction of mosques, stopped the Azan and the like. These are such heart-rending matters as have dealt a serious blow to

the religious sentiments and prestige of the Muslim subjects of the State. They have been so much touched by the lack of foresight of the government officials that they have been feeling Islam in danger. The fact is that the offenders have been set free inspite of the fact that the Muslims knocked the gates of justice against these heart-rending facts and furnished sufficient evidence in substantiation of their grievances.

6. Qadeer is an alien. The only offence committed by him has been that he had expressed contempt against the scoffers of the Holy Quran. He has been persecuted in the court and that has taken a religious turn. On the basis of our investigation, knowledge and belief we submit that the people to hear the proceedings of the trial had entered the Jail premises for this purpose. They did not make any attack anywhere in that place. They rather moved outside from the compound. Arrest of a section of public that had stayed there in the garden for the purpose of offering prayers started without rhyme or reason. A lot of furore started on this and firing was resorted to by the authorities without investigation and forewarning. Many poor persons and innocent children were mercilessly killed and wounded. The local officers on spot did not even bother about giving any medical aid or showing any sympathy towards those wounded and killed human beings. Making of the poor and unarmed persons as targets in this manner without offering them any medical aid, death of the wounded in a refining condition, simply through lack of human sympathy shown to them presents a picture which melts the heart of even a most callous-hearted person. The details are so horrible that their mention is likely to produce sorrowful commiseration in your Highness' heart. We shall remain reticent on all these deplorable matters and shall only make a brief reference to the recent affairs. A few men from police training school coming to the city in a lorry inflicted wounds and death on the peaceful Muslim passers-by without any provocation on their part. The Muslims, unmindful of all this oppression, tried to confine the disturbance by gathering these corpses in Jam-i-Masjid so that the trouble may not extend to different areas of the city and peace may remain unviolated in the major part of the town. Two more wounded persons were rudely insulted with the deliberate intention of creat-

ing a riot while on their way to Dr. Abdul Wahid's clinic. They were beaten to death with lathis. This was misreported through false propaganda and the Muslims were stated to have been at fault so that they had been given a bad name for no fault of theirs.

7. On this day when unfortunately no help was received from the government at this critical juncture, bringing of a few wounded persons within the premises of the city, has proved a source of trouble and disturbance for mischievous non-Muslim plotters. In short, it may be submitted that the martyrs were disrespected to such an extent that it was very likely that certain irresponsible persons inflicted excesses on the shopkeepers in fits of provocation. After this there were manufactured imaginary tales and exaggerated stories of loot and plunder. Simultaneously with it the Hindu army was given control of the city that very instant. This was the same army that had been provoked a few weeks earlier against the Muslims due to this poisonous propaganda. They created havoc at the Muslims at the instance of the Hindus. The passers-by were put to death. Peace-loving Muslim citizens were driven out of their homes, arrested and tortured in a very cruel manner, plundering of the Muslim homes continued unabated. The Muslim ladies were put to insulting treatment. Young children were not only beaten but also put to death. An eye-witness account of a non-Muslim lady throws light on these matters. Wherever it became possible, poor Muslim men and women were thrown into the river and some of them were strangled to death. The corpses of the martyrs are emerging from the river even now. The matters reached such an extreme limit at Maharaja Gunj and Bohri Kadal that the Muslim residents of these localities were forced to remain confined within their houses for three days in a state of starvation. The havoc that wrought from Habba Kadal to Safa Kadal is beyond description.

8. The Hindus entertained the army with various types of delicious dishes and kept them under their thumb.

9. The soldiers and the Hindus killed many innocent Muslims in Maharaja Gunj, Domb-Kadal, Nawab Bazar, Batyar and Vicharnag for no fault of theirs.

10. Law and order did not prevail even in name in those cir-

cumstances of indiscriminate havoc and exploitation. Neither did the officers pay any heed towards equity and legal norms. They got entangled in communal feelings and girded their loins in the direction of wreaking vengeance and inflicting oppression upon the Muslims. The result was that the reality remained undisclosed and the Muslims believed perforce that they were going to be annihilated on the basis of a well-organised conspiracy. A few incidents in the past, like a procession of the Congress, perfectly substantiate the point as the government officials did not even protest against these illegally organised processions of the Congress. On the other hand, they inflicted undue cruelty upon good and law-abiding Muslims. Otherwise it was not expected by your Muslim subjects to have such orders issued with the permission of your gracious person.

11. Several national leaders were arrested at midnight. They were not given the opportunity of participation in the burial rites of their martyr-brethren. This fact has dealt a severe wound in the heart of the (Muslim) community.

12. Your Highness can measure the sincerity and devotion of your Muslim subjects by the fact that inspite of so much of oppression they (Muslim) had so much faith in your august-self and inspite of general massacre, lack of medical aid to the sufferers, killing of peace-loving and unarmed Muslim passers-by by the Hindu army, loot and plunder of their houses, after forcible entry into them, insulting overtures towards their ladies, dishonour of the Muslim gentlemen, battering and merciless killing of the children, the Muslim representatives including the Mirwaiz of Kashmir came to wait on your Highness on that very day simply to apprise you of the situation and seek redress. But the conspirators had succeeded to such an extent that you refused to listen to their grievances in person.

13. At this time of terrible calamity it was impossible for the common Muslims to control themselves and keep back from taking out funeral procession of the martyrs. However they suppressed their feelings and buried the dead silently in compliance with your Highness' orders.

14. The innocent multitudes galore thrown into the jail include also young children. The ill-treatment that has been and is still being inflicted upon them is very shameful. Justice

demands that they should be released.

15. In compliance with your Highness' orders the city was divided into four zones. Out of these in two zones there was made such an unsatisfactory arrangement that the present condition there has turned out to be the worse than what it had been in the past. Highly experienced senior Hindu officers are very well exploiting inexperience and weakness of their junior Muslim officers so that the very purpose for which this arrangement had been made has been lost. In this way excessive loss has occurred and is still occurring to the Muslims. According to their long standing traditions the Pandits have kept the Muslim officers raw in their experience. They have refused even to entertain their applications. In spite of the identification and location of the looted and concealed property, the non-Muslims were not brought to book. The Muslim petitioners were turned out after inflicting terrible blows upon them.

16. One Muslim officer started making a search into a few non-Muslim shops at the pressing insistence of the Muslims. A lot of looted property was recovered. In addition to it, similar type of house-searches led to the uncovering of the Muslim ladies' garments. Investigation has also proved that the plan of the non-Muslim vested interests to ruin the Muslims and spread the tales of plunder after concealing their own property would have been exposed the moment search had been conducted into their houses. But the Hon'ble Chief Minister issued orders at once and, as a consequence, this process of search was stopped so that the non-muslims were allowed to remain secure and unscathed.

17. No information is available about so many persons as to whether they are in jail or put to death. The list of the prisoners has not been made available inspite of insistent appeals.

18. Notwithstanding the fact that the Muslims are referred to as the origin of trouble, all the temples are in a safe condition. On the contrary sacrilege has been committed against the mosques and the monasteries. Holy places of the Muslims have been razed to the ground. Officers on spot did not pay any heed to it. Strangely enough, in the areas where the Hindus are in a minority there has been no complaint from them in those areas. On the other hand, wherever the Hindus are in

a majority there have been general complaints from people residing in those areas. This fact very well demonstrates the extent to which the story related by the non-Muslims is based on the truth and authenticity. All these complaints have been brought to the notice of the officers, especially Raja Hari Krishen Kaul from time to time, but in vain.

19. The investigating officials in jail trails are all non-Muslims. Responsible officers in the jail are the Hindus. Consequently, the major portion of the accused in jail trails have not been challaned inspite of so much lapse of time; nor have they been released on bail. Authentic information reveals that the prisoners are being tortured and forced to make false admission in fabricated evidence. Similarly, great hardship has been inflicted upon some jail officials so that they may submit false evidence about jail happenings. On their refusal to do so, they have been transferred after demotion and later on dismissed from service. In addition to it, the neighbours residing in the vicinity of the jail have been prevailed upon through intimidation and temptation to give false evidence so that the enquiry committee is not expected to reveal the real facts. This method of forcibly eliciting and tempting evidence is in violation of the proclamation in which officers had been granted permission to state true facts without any binding or limitation.

20. The conspiracy of the non-Muslims did not remain confined only up to Srinagar. In rural areas also, the fanatical non-Muslim officials have adopted the same method of ruining the dumb Muslims. Thus the aim has been to disturb the general atmosphere of peace and lay the blame at the door of the Muslims. As an instance, it may be submitted here that in the village of Khulna (tehsil Uri) a house caught fire all of a sudden so that all the inmates including the master of the household were burnt alive. His real brother unequivocally avowed that it occurred by accident and the police arrived at the same conclusion after due investigation. But even this incident is being tried to be laid at the door of the Muslims. The poisonous atmosphere of this dirty propaganda has created a lot of havoc for the Muslims in the whole State. The transfer of the Muslim teachers without any rhyme or reason, the transfer or dismissal

of the Muslim officials for no fault of theirs are the cases of the examples to be quoted in this connection. The matters have been presented in such a manner that the Muslim subjects have been proved oppressors rather than the oppressed ones. Curtain has been dropped on the real events. It was anticipated that the real facts would be brought to light through the setting up of an impartial commission. But in the very first instance, two capable Muslim lawyers from outside the State were not granted permission to participate in the government sponsored commission. Therefore the Muslim subjects were forced to express lack of confidence in it. Later on the Muslims presented a few conditions for the participation. But these were brushed aside. An inquiry committee was established. However, before the enquiry committee could draft any report, a government announcement was published proving the Muslims as responsible for all these disturbances. The facts have been presented contrary to realities so that the Muslims are sure that *ex parte* decision has already been made against them. The effect of this declaration on the enquiry committee and other cases has been and is still being so *malafide* that the reality seems never likely to come to light in this Committee. In addition to it, the *Milap* has confirmed that the gist of the enquiry committee report will be the same declaration. This fact has dispelled the credibility of Raja Hari Krishen Kaul among the Muslims. His present day harsh and partial treatment has caused great panic among the Muslims. The employment of the Sikhs in the police at this stage is again creating confusion and embarrassment. It will not be out of place to submit to your Highness that Raja Hari Krishen Kaul had been nominated by the communal-minded Hindus of the State to lend support to the Hindus of the State. His appointment to the office of the Chief Minister at this stage has strengthened their hands still further against the Muslims. Unfortunately for the Muslims, those communal elements got a great and unique opportunity of fulfilling the heart-felt ambition and aspiration of their co-religionists. The Muslims cannot look upon themselves as immune from these effects. Therefore we make bold to draw your Highness' attention particularly towards these facts. In these critical circumstances, the dirty and false

propaganda carried on in the Hindu newspapers about the forcible conversion of Hindus, cutting of their sacred hair knots, represents false accusation and must not remain uncontradicted, otherwise these allegations will be fraught with dangerous consequences. Under these deplorable circumstances, it appears indecorous and out of place to make submissions on the part of the Muslim representatives. Therefore it is very politely and humbly requested that your Highness should pay attention to all these facts with commiseration and justice, issuing orders for clarifying the atmosphere for your Muslim subjects, so that the sincerely presented demands and submissions of the Muslim subjects may be approved and the Muslim subjects of your Highness' government may lead a life of inner satisfaction and remain busy praying for your Highness and your dynasty's prosperity, glory and long life.

Srinagar, Kashmir dated the 15th of August, 1931.

Sd/-

1. Mohammad Yussuf, Mirwaiz
2. Ahmad-ullah, Mirwaiz Hamdani
3. Syed Hassan Shah Jalali
4. Said-ud-Din Shawl
5. S.M. Abdullah
6. G.A. Ashai
7. Mistry Uaqub Ali
8. Munshi Shuhab-ud-Din
9. Ghulam Abbas
10. Gowhar Rehman

Appendix C

Memorial of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslims presented to His Highness Raja Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Maharaja Sir Hari Singh Ji Bahadur INDAR MAHINDAR Sipar-i-Saltanat-Inglishia, G.C.I.E.; K.C.V.O., A.D.C., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar, Dated 19th October, 1931.

While presenting this Memorial to Your Highness for your kind consideration, we, the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir Muslims, beg respectfully to offer our sincere thanks to your Highness for your very graciously granting us an opportunity of laying our grievances and needs before you and for granting amnesty to most of the political prisoners and under-trial persons on the auspicious occasion of your Highness' Birthday.

We assure Your Highness that the reforms and improvements which we are going to suggest do not owe their origin to any artificial agitation. In fact a long series of unbearable hardships and disabilities under which we have been labouring have forced us to the conclusion that without the reforms and improvements contained in this humble Memorial the lives of Muslim subjects of Your Highness will continue to be extremely miserable.

We acknowledge with gratitude that Your Highness and Your Highness' ancestors have enacted some good laws for the State and have effected certain praise-worthy improvements and

we are convinced that Your Highness and Your Highness' ancestors have been inspired by sincere love and solicitude for the State subjects. But, as Your Highness would concede, no single individual can, without the help and cooperation of others, look after the welfare of a vast territory like Jammu and Kashmir. Neither can good laws alone, without the help of sympathetic officials, bring about any good results. We, therefore, beg respectfully to state that in spite of certain good laws Your Highness' subjects cannot enjoy peace and prosperity unless they are afforded suitable opportunity to influence and criticise the work of the Executive responsible for the observance of the said laws. The truth rather is said that even for the enactment of good laws, the help and cooperation of the people are essential, for without knowing from the people their real needs and requirements no truly good laws can be made.

After these introductory remarks we beg to submit that, excepting the royal person of your Highness, the Muslim subjects of the State have lost all confidence in the officials of the State to the extent that they cannot even wait till such time as may be required for the framing of a reformed Constitution and its subsequent introduction. The delay involved would, we are afraid, be looked upon not as something essential but as a ruse for putting off the needs of Your Highness' Muslim subjects.

Your Highness' Muslim subjects, therefore, humbly pray that in order to allay the aforesaid misgivings and to convince them that the State Executive is really prepared to help in the fulfilment of the good intentions of Your Highness a declaration of policy indicating a change of heart and covering the following points may kindly be immediately made. This declaration should be to the effect that:

- (1) All those officials and officers of the State who have immediately before or during the disturbances offended the religious feelings of the Muslims or in any way interfered with their religious practice be properly punished.
- (2) All mosques, graveyards and other sacred places together with their original attached property in the possession of the State or transferred by the State to

- a third party be restored to the Muslims.
- (3) All those persons who have been dismissed, suspended, degraded or otherwise punished in any respect in connection with the present political movement be reinstated or restored to their posts, position or grades, as the case may be. Similarly their relations should not be made to suffer in any way on their account.
 - (4) A suitable compensation to be granted to the relatives of those who were killed during the disturbances and also to those who were disabled therein.
 - (5) The case of such political offenders as have been convicted for some alleged act of violence or its abetment and have failed to appeal be gone into by your Highness in order to find out whether in the present times of political advancement their offences really amount to violence. If Your Highness does not find them guilty of violence they should be released. It is further prayed that in considering all such cases Your Highness may also be graciously pleased to exercise your Royal prerogative of mercy.
 - (6) An independent Commission should be appointed to enquire into the conduct of the State officials, the police and Military, towards the people during the days of political disturbances with a view to finding out whether their behaviour was in conformity with the laws as popularly understood. If any of the officials is found guilty in this respect he should be properly dealt with irrespective of his position or rank.
 - (7) Your Highness' subjects most respectfully submit that no permanent peace is possible unless the same law be enforced in the State for freedom of speeches and for the establishment of Anjumans and Associations as obtains in British India. As matters stand we are deprived of all the ways and means of intellectual and economic progress. Our wise men are unable to benefit the people by their wisdom and our masses cannot improve their condition without organization.
 - (8) As a proof of the fact that the Muslim subjects of your Highness will in future be treated fairly, a declaration may kindly be made immediately to the effect

that there would be perfect religious freedom in the State and that conversion would entail no confiscation of property in favour of relatives as is the practice at present. Your Highness, who, we believe, fully recognises the value of religious liberty and tolerance will agree that there is no justification for a person to be deprived of his property on his conversion to another religion; for it amounts to religious interference, and in presence of such practice Your Highness' Muslim subjects cannot have any sense of security in the matter of their being treated fairly.

- (9) Lastly, we beg leave to state that Your Highness' subjects can enjoy real peace only when they have been conceded their right to an effective share in the legislation of the State and of criticising the administration. Any legislation to secure this end would, however, require time. Therefore Your Highness' Muslim subjects and, as far as we know, a section of Your Highness' Hindu and Sikh subjects as well, think it necessary that at least an immediate assurance may be given to them to the effect that in future they would be treated in accordance with some definite Constitution, and a declaration may be immediately made that Your Highness' Government will be based on constitutional principles.

CONSTITUTION

1. Fundamental rights

Your Highness, after referring to the points which need immediate attention and starting with the presumption that Your Highness will be pleased to concede them, we beg to present an outline of the Constitution which will, in our opinion, satisfy the people and serve as a basis for future development.

In our opinion it is vitally essential that the eternal and unchanging elementary rights of humanity of which Your Highness' subjects are almost deprived, in all contact to the outside world, should be fully and properly secured for them. These rights are the following:

- (1) Perfect religious freedom in respect of religious observance, practice and preaching conversion and rights connected therewith as obtain in British India.
- (2) Perfect freedom of assemblage and of setting of Anjuman as obtains in British India.
- (3) Perfect freedom of speech as obtains in British India.
- (4) Freedom of the press with only such restrictions as obtain in British India. In this connection we may add that as there exists no press in the State at the present time and we cannot at once avail ourselves of the freedom asked for, the State authority should have no objection to the circulation of Muslim papers from outside within the State. We see no reason why against all usages of civilized countries, the State should object to and stop the circulation of such papers as criticise, in public interest and with due deference to the person of Your Highness, the attitude and behaviour of some of its officials or point out defects in the existing laws and regulations of the State.
- (5) There should be perfect equality of rights and equality of treatment for all State subjects in all respects.

2. Constitution of the Executive and the Legislature

(a) *The Executive:*

It should be laid down that:

- (1) the policy of the State shall henceforth be in the increasing association of the State subjects in the administration of the State on the lines of the progressive representative form of Government;
- () the Minister shall of course be appointed by the Ruling Chief but Muslims should be represented in the Ministry in proportion to their numerical strength. If capable Muslims from among the Muslim subjects of the state are not available to fill the posts, recruitment should be made from Muslims outside the State until the time when the Muslims of Kashmir

become sufficiently advanced to be appointed as Ministers as is the practice for importation of non-Muslims at present;

- (3) no Minister shall in future remain in office for more than 5 years;
- (4) if 70 per cent of the members of the Legislature (about which recommendations follow) pass a resolution to the effect that they have no confidence in a certain Minister, that Minister shall forthwith be relieved of his duties;
- (5) the Ministers shall be responsible to the Ruler but if the representatives of the country should demand from them any information concerning their respective departments, they shall be bound to furnish the required information to the Legislature except with regard to matters connected with the person of the Ruler, his heir apparent or such foreign affairs as the Ruler may think wise not to disclose; and
- (6) though the Ministers would not be responsible to the Legislature, yet they should be instructed by the Maharaja Bahadur in the letter of appointment to respect the opinion of the majority and to act in conformity with it so far as possible.

(b) *The Legislature:*

It should be laid down that:

- (1) there shall be a Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir to keep His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and his Executives informed of public opinion and to frame the necessary laws;
- (2) after such an Assembly has been constituted, no new law which has not been passed by the said Assembly and no old law which has not been abrogated by it should be enforced in the country, excepting such temporary ordinances as the Maharaja Bahadur may enforce on occasion of violent disturbances or grave emergencies, but such ordinances shall not remain in force for more than six months;

- (3) every citizen of the State shall be eligible for election to the Assembly, irrespective of his creed and nationality;
- (4) at least seventy per cent of the members of the Assembly shall be elected and 30 per cent shall be nominated by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. Of the 30 nominated members 10 should be Rajputs, being an important minority and representing the ruling dynasty; the rest of the nominated members should be according to the population proportion of the various communities with the proviso that of the 30 nominated members one-half should be non-officials;
- (5) rules shall be framed in a way that the elected representatives of the different religions are returned in proportion to the number of their respective adherents;
- (6) as regards franchise, it should be on as wide a basis as practicable and the method of election to the Assembly should be based on the direct system;
- (7) the Assembly shall be the sole authority for legislation. It shall also have the power to criticise the work of the various departments; to pass a vote of confidence or no confidence in the Ministers to demand from them such information as may be necessary for a thorough knowledge of the working of the departments and to discuss the annual budget. No new tax shall be imposed, nor any of the old taxes be enhanced without first obtaining the sanction of the Assembly. In special circumstances, however, the Maharaja Bahadur shall have the power to do so by a special Farman if he finds the work of administration suffering. The Maharaja Bahadur shall also have the power of vote in legislation;
- (8) no legal action shall be taken against a member of the Assembly for expressing any opinion whatever on the floor of the House; except with regard to the person of the Ruler or his heir apparent;
- (9) the President of the Assembly shall be nominated by the Maharaja Bahadur for the first term. Afterwards, the legislature shall have the power to elect its own President; and
- (10) a fixed percentage of the total income of the State

should be set apart as privy purse for the Maharaja Bahadur and his family and excepting this sum all items of the State should be open to criticism in the Assembly.

Local-self Government

Municipalities as constituted at present are no good and are rather responsible for making this useful institution unpopular with the people. We therefore request that Municipal Committees be established in all the towns of the State on the following lines:

All Municipal work should be entrusted to the town committees in which elected members should form the majority. The president also should be from among the non-official elected members. The Wazir-i-Wazarat may be empowered to nominate up to 10 per cent of the members and where the total number is less than 10 there should be one nominated member provided the elected majority is not thereby affected.

Similarly in all districts, District Boards should be elected except 10 per cent, who may be nominated by the Wazir-i-Wazarat. For the first five years the Wazir-i-Wazarat may preside over the District Boards. Later on, however, the President should be elected from among the elected members by a majority of votes.

The Municipal Committees and District Boards should have the same duty and power as in the Punjab and should like the Assembly to have communal representation.

We respectfully request your Highness to be pleased to immediately issue necessary instructions with regard to the establishment of Municipal Committees and District Boards on these lines.

Judiciary

Seventy per cent of the High Court Judges should be Muslims.

Revenue

Land Revenue should be assessed on the same lines as in the Punjab.

Services

- (1) Communal proportion should be observed in all grades of the services and the basis of recruitment should be the minimum qualification.

If the requisite number of Muslims of high education be not available, recruitment may be made from less qualified Muslims in preference to better qualified non-Muslims. For instance, Matriculate Muslims should have preference over non-Muslim graduates excepting of course with regard to such departments in which high technical qualification may be essential. In this way Muslim representation on the services should be increased by at least 10 per cent every year until they get their due share in the services.

- (2) There should be a Public Service Commission in the State and different communities should be presented on it according to their numerical strength.
- (3) His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur should have the power to appoint 25 per cent of the total number of higher grade posts directly with due regard to communal proportion.
- (4) Where necessary, age restriction should be relaxed to redress communal inequality.

Conclusion

Your Highness ! these are main suggestions with regard to the future Constitution of the State and the fundamental rights of the State subjects. There are other suggestions as well respecting some of the acute grievances of Your Highness' Muslim subjects which though requiring careful thought and consideration are such as may be adopted in a much shorter time than the framing of a Constitution. Owing to the different nature we are submitting our grievances in the form of an Appendix to which it is prayed Your Highness may be pleased to give immediate attention.

We conclude this Memorial by again offering our sincerest thanks to Your Highness and hope that keeping in view the

advancement of the times and the noble example already set by some of the Ruling Chiefs of the Indian States, particularly those of Cochin and Mysore, Your Highness will be most graciously pleased to give your very kind and sympathetic consideration to our humble Memorial and will thus strengthen the bonds of love and affection by inspiring your Muslim subjects, who have ever been loyal to your Highness and to your Highness' family with even stronger feelings of loyalty and devotion.

APPENDIX

1. Zamindars

- (a) Zamindars of Kashmir are deprived of proprietary rights. The people of Kashmir cannot sell or mortgage their lands of their own will. They cannot even cut the mulberry, the walnut and the chinar trees grown on their private lands or make use of them nor can they remove the dead and fallen timber of such trees with the result that the Kashmir Zamindar is no better than a mere tenant. There is no reason to make a distinction between Kashmir and other parts of the State. The State cannot claim proprietary rights over Kashmir lands merely because Kashmir was purchased from the British. A transaction of this kind could only affect the rights of the Government but not the proprietary rights of the subjects on their lands. No Government has the right to sell the proprietary rights of the lands belonging to the people. We therefore request Your Highness to be most graciously pleased to restore your Highness' Zamindar subjects to their full proprietary rights.

In this connection we may add that the view expressed in certain quarters that the present system is in the interest of the Zamindar himself is incorrect. There can be no justification whatever in depriving a person of his lawful rights with the alleged object of protecting him against the danger of his land passing into the hands of the money lenders. In our opinion this

danger can and should be effectively guarded against by the introduction of such measures as the Land Alienation and Pre-emption Acts. Anyhow, nothing should stand in the way of full proprietary rights being granted to the Kashmir Zamindars.

- (2) The Zamindars have acute grievances against the departments of Forest, Revenue, Police, Games Preservation and Mulberry Culture. It is therefore requested that a Commission consisting of non-official element be appointed to enquire into these grievances and submit a report to Your Highness with a view to improving their condition.
- (c) Bribery is common and it chiefly affects the Zamindars. Effective steps should be taken to stop it.
- (d) The way in which Nautor Chakuk are granted to State servants and others is most objectionable. Nautor prepared by Zamindars should on no account be given as grants. Those already given should be restored.
- (e) Coronation concessions granted to Zamindars have been frittered away by wrong interpretations. Steps should be taken to rectify the mistakes.
- (f) The grazing tax is too heavy; it should be as in the neighbouring British territory.

2. Bakarwals

- (a) The tax on the Bakarwals is too heavy and is ruining them financially. The annual tax of two rupees, seven annas, per goat, sometimes exceeds the price of the goat itself. The object underlying this tax is apparently to encourage sheep breeding which is helpful in the woollen industry and the protection of forests. But these considerations do not justify the imposition of so heavy a tax which is ruinous for the great investment of the Bakarwals. We therefore humbly pray that the tax on goats should be the same as that on sheep or it may be slightly higher.

- (b) The Muslim Bakarwals have been branded as a criminal tribe, while the Hindu tribes who follow a similar profession bear no such stigma. This invidious distinction is causing great heart burning and may kindly immediately be removed. If any Bakarwal is guilty of an offence, he should be dealt with under the ordinary law of the land.

3. Arms

The people of Kashmir are deprived of the right of possessing arms, whereas their fellow subjects of Jammu have no such restrictions. It is requested that this invidious distinction may kindly be removed. Similarly there should be no distinction between Jammu and Kashmir in respect of game laws for State subjects.

4. Military

There are no arrangements for the Military Education for Muslims, with the result that they are deprived of their due share in the high Military posts. The existing Military College at Jammu, being a Hindu Wakf, benefits the Hindus only. It is necessary therefore that the State should establish a high class Military College of its own and only those who undergo a course of training in this institution should be appointed to higher posts in the Army. The rights of Muslims and other communities should be duly safeguarded in this college in proportion to the strength of their population.

5. Customs

Certain custom duties levied at present are hampering the trade of the country. No duty should be levied on goods exported from the State. Nor should any import duty be imposed on medicine or on goods imported personally or through mail for bona fide private use. No duty should be levied on genuine State made goods on re-import whether shown to customs officers or not before export.

6. Labour

The condition of the labourers of Kashmir is pitiable. We request that Commission be appointed to enquire into their condition, hours of labour, terms of contract with the employees etc. and that after considering its report a law should be framed which should secure to the labourers their legitimate rights. New means of employment should also be found out for the unemployed.

7. Education

The Muslims of Kashmir are deplorably backward in education. Unfortunately Mr. Sharp's Report which would have benefited the Muslims was not acted upon. To improve the condition of the Muslims educationally, in addition to Mr. Sharp's recommendations the following measures may kindly be adopted immediately:

- (a) The number of Middle and High Schools should be increased and each important centre of Muslim population should have adequate arrangements for education. It is hoped Your Highness will be pleased to issue immediate instructions for this purpose.
- (b) Colleges for higher industrial education should be started with one at Srinagar.
- (c) In order to make up for the Educational backwardness of the Muslims more special stipend should be reserved for and awarded to Muslim students. Promising Muslims should be sent out to British India and foreign countries for higher education.
- (d) Adequate number of seats for Muslim students should be reserved in professional and technical institutions and also in the science faculties of schools and colleges.
- (e) Instruction is imparted in Hindi in certain Girls Schools, which is proving a great obstacle in the way of Muslim girls. This obstacle should be removed. The medium of instruction for girls should be Urdu as it is for the boys.

Appendix D

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In the name of God, most Gracious, most Merciful.

Basic Constitution of all Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference

1. This organisation will be named as the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Its headquarters will be at Srinagar.

Aims and objects

2. Aims and objects of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference will be as follows:

- (i) Organisation of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.**
- (ii) Maintenance and strengthening of the unity of the Muslims.**
- (iii) Protection of the political rights of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.**
- (iv) Struggle for moral, educational, cultural and economic**

reformation and progress of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.

Composition of the Conference

3. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference will be composed of:

- (a) the members of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference who are registered members under section 5;
- (b) the members of the General Council, All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, established under section 12;
- (c) the members of the Working Committee (Executive Committee) as elected under section 14;
- (d) Provincial Muslim Conference affiliated with the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference under section 37;
- (e) the District Muslim Conference set up under section 37 and affiliated to this Conference;
- (f) tehsil Muslim Conference established under section 39 and affiliated to this Conference;
- (g) other responsible associations established and affiliated to this Conference under section 40; and
- (h) all such associations as have been affiliated under section 41.

The Membership of the Conference

It is binding on every candidate to be eligible for the membership of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference to fulfill the following conditions:

- (a) To be a Muslim resident of Jammu and Kashmir State.
- (b) To be an adult and not a student who would not have passed Matriculation or School Leaving Certificate examination (the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference is competent to relax any of these above mentioned restrictions in case of a candidate).

5. The following persons will be the members of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference:

- (a) All the delegates the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Political Conference elected at Srinagar on October 14th, 15th and 16th, 1932.
- (b) Every candidate who will pay four annas subscription in advance and give a written assurance that he will abide by the above mentioned rules and regulations.

6. Annual subscription of the members will fall due on the last date of September irrespective of the consideration of the date when he was registered as a member. Every member will not continue as a member unless he renews his membership through subscription for the next year.

Office-bearers

7. The following will be the office bearers:

President

There will be ten Vice-Presidents. The senior Vice-President will belong to the Province other than that from which the President will have been elected. The distribution of the pattern for election of the Vice-Presidents will be as follows:

Muzaffarabad	1
Poonch	1
Northern Wazarat (District Baramulla)	1
Southern Wazarat (District Anantnag)	1
Frontiers of Kashmir	2
Jammu District	1
Mirpur District	1
Reasi District	1

Udhampur District	1
General Secretary	1
Secretaries	4

8. The President of the Conference will be elected every year in an open session. He will continue on his post untill the next year's annual session.

9. The President, the General Secretary and the Secretaries will be elected in the annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. They will continue on this post untill the next election.

10. The re-election of the above mentioned office-bearers will be legally valid.

11. No one can become the office-bearer unless he is a member of the General Council of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

12. A General Council of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference will be established according to the following rules and regulations:

(a) The General Council will consist of one hundred members. These members will be elected from the members of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. They will continue as members subject to the fulfilment of the rules of the membership till the next election.

(b) The distribution of the membership of the General Council will be as follows:

Province of Jammu and Poonch	{ in proportion to the popu- lation.
Province of Kashmir including Frontier	

Provincial Conference will arrange internal distribution of its members on its own.

(c) Every member of the General Council will pay Rs. 3/- as annual subscription in three equal instalments. If the subscription of a member of the General Council remains payable beyond one year, the General Council will issue him notice for payment of the subscription.

If the above mentioned member does not pay the subscription due from him within one month of the issue of this notice, his name will be removed from membership as provided in the resolution of the General Council.

13. The office-bearers of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference will elect 50 members in its annual session for necessary implementation of its affairs as mentioned in section 28. It will include all the office-bearers of the General Council.

The Session of the Conference

15. The annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and any other session will be held at such place and time as will be proposed by the General Council.

16. The General Council can also propose any other session or meeting at such a place and time as its members will demand. It can summon such a session subject to the condition that its proposal be sent to the general secretaries by 25 members of Conference and 15 members of the General Council.

17. The quorum will consist of 50 members for the annual session of the General Council.

18. All the members of subordinate associations will be eligible for participation and voting in the annual Conference on payment of rupees 3/-.

19. One Subjects Committee will be set up every year on the eve of annual meeting. It will scrutinize and approve the submitted proposals in such a manner as to include all the members of the General Council present and such other representatives not necessarily the members of the General Council and irrespective of the fact that such persons from among the delegates of every district whom the Conference will elect.

The Session of the General Council

20. The General Secretary can convene meetings of the General Council of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference

on the approval of the President. The meetings should be convened at least four times every year.

21. The quorum will consist of at least 30 members for an ordinary meeting of the General Council of the Conference. All the matters submitted to the session will be decided on the basis of the majority vote. However, the rule of quorum will not be applicable to an already postponed meeting.

22. Written opinions of the members of the General Council will be counted as votes in all the meetings of the General Council.

The meetings of the Working Committee

23. The meeting of the Working Committee will be held at least once every month.

24. The quorum for the Working Committee meeting will consist of at least of 15 members.

25. The Working Committee will approve all the proposals subject to the ratification of the Council.

The functions of the General Council

26. The General Council will perform the following functions:

- (a) It will elect the Working Committee as provided in section 14.
- (b) It will elect the members of the Conference as provided in section 5.
- (c) It will convene the meetings of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference as provided in sections 15 and 16.
- (d) It will elect president for the annual session of the Conference and present the decision for approval in the general session.
- (e) It will provide all necessary and useful information about the aims and objects of the Conference.
- (f) It will consider and approve all proposals which will crop up from time to time respecting matters related to the aims and objects of the Conference.

- (g) It will take necessary steps for implementation of the proposals approved in any meeting of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference or the General Council.
- (h) It will keep the regularity and discipline for the expenditure of the capital of the Conference.
- (i) It will set up sub-committees for discharging functions and execution of its own authority.
- (j) It will grant affiliation to all branches and associations under regulations or sanction their disaffiliation.
- (k) It will draw up by-laws for the following matters:
 - 1. To organise the meetings of the General Council and the Conference.
 - 2. To decide after considering the proceedings of the sub-committees set up under the section (i).
 - 3. To administer all the mutually cropping affairs of the affiliated associations and branches of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference subject to rules and regulations.
 - 4. To draw up by-laws for all those matters which in the opinion of the General Council are important provided that any by-laws, which is inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution will be held invalid.

27. The General Council is authorised to delegate further powers to the General Secretary subject to the restrictions and conditions which the General Council may think proper to impose on these matters.

Functions of the Working Committee

28. The Working Committee (Executive) will perform the following functions:

- (a) It will consider and approve all matters respecting the aims and objects of the Conference which will crop up from time to time and will not be contrary or in con-

- travention to the aims and objects of the Conference.
- (b) It will take necessary steps for the practical implementation of all those proposals which have been approved in any of the meetings of the Conference or the General Council.
- (c) It will arrange expenditure subject to the instructions of the General Council.
- (d) It will set up sub-committees for the use of its powers and discharge of its functions.
- (e) It will furnish the necessary and useful information to the General Council about the aims and objects of the Conference.
- (f) It will discharge all other functions which the Conference or the General Council will delegate to it.

Revenues of the Conference

29. The funds will be collected and a Fund established will be called the Muslim Conference National Fund. It will consist of at least one lakh of rupees. This sum will be deposited in the name of the Conference in a cooperative Bank. The General Council will use its profit for implementation of the aims and objects of the Conference.

30. All the fees received from the delegates, the members of the Conference, the members of the General Council and the office-bearers of the Conference, the visitors to the annual session or in the other meetings as also all the gifts, contributions and other donations which the Conference or the General Council will receive from time to time and the amount mentioned in section 29, will constitute the capital or revenues of this Conference.

31. The revenue or the funds of this Conference which will be different from the then capital mentioned under section 29 will be put as deposit or saving account in a cooperative bank in the name of the Conference. However, the General Council is authorised to keep this amount in any other bank in case there be no cooperative bank in any area.

The duties and powers of the General Secretary and Secretaries

32. The General Secretary should use all those authorities which are delegated to him under section 27 by the General Council or which will be delegated to him by the Working Committee.

33. The General Secretary will make use of all those powers and perform all those duties which have their bearing upon the implementation of those rules and the authority of the General Secretary.

34. The General Secretary will have the authority to appoint, penalize, dismiss, grant leave with full pay or without pay to the salaried employees of the Conference. However, his decision will be subject to the appeal to the General Council in case of their dismissal. Also the appointments exceeding a monthly pay of rupees twenty will be subject to the approval of the General Council.

35. The General Secretary will summon all the members of the Council present at the Headquarters on such unavoidable occasions and about such matters as do not stand in the way of the basic laws and the Constitution of the Conference. These members will be authorised to take decisions in such a manner as they deem proper. Such proposals as have been approved in such a meeting will be submitted for ratification later on to an ordinary meeting of the General Council.

36. The Secretaries will discharge their functions in their areas subject to the instructions of the General Secretary at Headquarters.

General Rules

37. A Provincial Muslim Conference will be established in each province of the Jammu and Kashmir State and this provincial Muslim Conference will be affiliated to the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference after each Provincial Muslim Conference in an open session passes a resolution to that effect.

38. A District Muslim Conference will be set up in each district of the Jammu and Kashmir State (Poonch will be regar-

ded as a district for this purpose). The District Muslim Conference will be affiliated to the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference after the Muslim Conference of a district passes in a public meeting a resolution to that effect.

39. There will be a Tehsil Muslim Conference in each Tehsil of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Its affiliation will take place with the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference only when the Tehsil Conference gets affiliated to the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

40. Associations subordinate to or affiliated to the Tehsil Conference should be regarded as affiliated to the main Conference. It will be also essential to set up rural association for the completion of the organisation.

41. The General Council can grant affiliation to any Islamic association within Jammu and Kashmir State—formed for the above mentioned aims and objects subject to such restrictions and conditions as the Council might deem fit for the purpose.

42. The General Council of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference can cancel the affiliation of any Islamic association which had been affiliated to the above said Conference.

43. All those matters which may come for discussion in the meetings of the Conference, the General Council, the Working Committee or such sub-committee as may be set up under above-mentioned rules, will be decided by a majority vote.

44. The General Council will elect new office-bearers, subject to the approval of the Conference, for those posts that will fall vacant during the intervals of the annual sessions.

45. The General Council will, subject to the approval of the Conference, have the power to devise rules and regulations for the implementation of the aims and objects of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and for the execution of all the matters about the General Council and the Working Committee.

46. Any addition or abrogation by means of an amendment to the basic Constitution of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference will be made only at an annual session of the Conference by a majority of two-thirds members present and voting.

Appendix E

**Memorial presented by the Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Association on behalf of Kashmiri Pandits to His Highness
The Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir
on 24th October, 1931**

May it please Your Highness,

We, representatives of Kashmiri Pandits, beg to submit below our community's demands for Your Highness' consideration. Our community's loyalty to Your Highness' house is well-trying. Our devotion to Your Highness' person and throne needs no reiteration. Our hopes have been centred in Your Highness ever since Your Highness' assumption of the office of Senior Member of the late State Council. Your Highness' liberalism and solicitude for the people have found expression in several reforms which must for ever enshrine Your Highness in our hearts. Encouraged by all this, and with a view to assisting Your Highness' Government, we venture to avail the opportunity which has been so graciously granted to us for placing our demands before Your Highness:

1. Recent events have unmistakably proved the machinery of the administration in the State to be unsound and totally unfit for purposes of modern government. The Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee has not gone into the matter at any length

but even its findings corroborate our statement. Nepotism and jobbery are still at work in the selection of men for higher posts in the State. If in the time of his late Highness, outsiders were given responsible posts to the exclusion of local men, the tendency in more recent years has been to put men (local in many cases) irrespective of merit or qualifications in charge of such posts. We stand by the principle of preference for "State-subjects" and do not desire any change in the definition of the term. But we are opposed to a system under which the posts of a Governor of a Province and the Inspector-General of Police can be given to mediocre men wanting, as has been found by the Riots Enquiry Committee, in executive efficiency. Merely communal or even national considerations should not weigh in selecting men for posts of the highest responsibility. We would not exclude even Englishmen and Lent officers from such posts, should circumstances make their appointment necessary. For obvious reasons, we must rule out such Englishmen and Lent officers as have been directly connected with the Government during the last ten years. The appointment of really capable men at the helm will obviate the necessity of making too frequent changes in the administration and improve its general tone. But more than that the policy of drift will give way to purposeful government. The irresolute methods of administration should end. The Government has of late become top-heavy, and indiscriminate expenditure has contributed to the unsatisfactory state of our finances. This combined with laxity in the control of audit and accounts, makes the Government grope after make-shifts. Recent orders of penny-wise and pound-foolish retrenchments, which have mainly affected our community, should be withdrawn. Retrenchment should, in the first instance, aim at stopping wasteful expenditure and begin with highly paid services.

2. The Government should make adequate arrangements for the protection of law-abiding citizens, their homes and their places of worship against unprovoked attacks, loot, arson and incendiarism. No well-wisher of the Government can contemplate with equanimity the utter bankruptcy to which the administration of law and order in the State was reduced recently. We are not for a rule by ordinance, such as became

necessary last month simply because the ordinary law was not set in motion. But the Government should never fail to discharge the primary functions of government. In the Muffasils the position of our community is perilous, and special measures of protection are necessary. The Government should deal with the situation with sympathy and understanding, and make it possible for us to breathe freely. Fire-arms should be granted to those Kashmiri Pandits who can reasonably apprehend danger to their life and property.

3. The wrong suffered by our community in the recent riots need not be mentioned here. But Vicharnags should be made impossible for all time. Your Highness' illustrious grandfather, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, granted three lakhs of rupees as compensation to the Shias, who were looted in his time by the Sunnis. Your Highness has already been gracious enough to declare that the question of granting compensation to Hindu sufferers of recent riots is engaging Your Highness' attention. This grant of relief is, therefore, not one of our demands today. But we cannot help observing that these sufferers have not so far received that attention from the authorities that their case deserved. We take this opportunity of informing Your Highness that there is a wide-spread impression in our community, that we are doomed to suffering because we may not make such noise as must compel attention. If law and order are to be vindicated, it is the Kashmiri Pandits who must suffer Lathi charges, if retrenchments are to be made, it is the Kashmiri Pandits who must be victimised before others, if a favourite is to be pitchforked into high office, it must be over the head of some Kashmiri Pandit. It is again Kashmiri Pandit officers who can be turned out from service with impunity without reason. And a Kashmiri Pandit official's worth may be recognised on all hands, and yet he may be condemned to an inglorious career taking orders from those whom he should command. No one can say that we as a community suffer from the disease of impatience. One can easily imagine what would have followed if any other community's place of worship had been set on fire, as our temples have been set on fire, even after the amnesty. We do hope that Your Highness' Government will demonstrate in practice that whatever might have been the case so far, no

discrimination against us will be allowed in future in any sphere whatsoever.

4. Consistent with our culture and the tradition of our community both here and outside the State, we cannot look on things through communal glasses. It was the proud boast of the great Pandit Moti Lal Nehru that his mind could not run in communal channels. This sums up, we believe, the position of the average Kashmiri Pandit on communal matters. Long before the Musalmans of Kashmir had become politically conscious, it was Kashmiri Pandits who fought for modernity in the administration. It was they who first raised the cry of Kashmir for Kashmiris. It was they who first demanded a legislature, a free press and a free platform. They cannot today go back on their nationalism, and repudiate these and other essentials of good government. Recently they have not been so vocal on political reform, but the reason is that the Musalmans have presented their claims avowedly on communal grounds and for communal ends. Kashmiri Pandits are as anxious as any other community for the introduction of constitutional government, but they are equally anxious that the body politic should not be corrupted by the canker of communalism. Even that greatest votary of liberty, Mahatama Gandhi, was once so upset with the communalism of the Indian Press as to say, that if he had the power of an autocrat, he would proscribe all papers in India with the exception of his own "Young India". In India today one provincial Legislature and several Municipalities have become arenas for communal firebrands, a state of affairs which is by no means enviable. We should rather do without a free press and a free platform and the right of representation than make our country a hot-bed of communal warfare. Recently events in Kashmir are a tragic demonstration of the evils of communalism. Free press and platform or no press and platform, the Government can at no time deal too strongly with those who preach hatred among different classes of people. We are opposed to giving statutory recognition to the vicious principle of communal representation. The constitution of a legislature in accordance with the stage of our political evolution, its powers and functions, the franchise and other matters are things of detail which cannot be decided

without a regular and open enquiry. We reserve to ourselves the right of making concrete proposals on all such matters at the proper time.

5. One matter which has driven our community to the verge of despair is our economic position. It was proved by our spokesmen before the Riots Enquiry Committee, that about a thousand of our educated men—Matriculates, Under-graduates, B.A.'s., B.Sc.'s., M.A.'s., M.Sc.'s., I.F.S.'s. and L.L.B.'s.—are without service. The number of such youngmen in all other communities put together cannot be more than 200. In recent years about a hundred Kashmiri Pandit educated men have settled outside the State, including such distant places as Italy and England. The Government has in the past on numerous occasions passed over the claims of our qualified men, and given preference to men of indifferent worth from other communities. The Riots Enquiry Committee has observed that qualified men from among Mohammadens are not available, although, paradoxically enough, it states that they have a "legitimate grievance" in that they are not represented in service in large numbers. The truth, however, is that Kashmiri Pandits have the grievance that their Graduates must give way before Matriculates of other communities. The Committee again states that Muslims were never excluded from service because they were Muslims. It could be correctly said that Muslims have been taken in service because they are Muslims, and it was in the humour of despair that many Kashmiri Pandit young men expressed their preparedness some time ago to embrace Islam when applications for certain posts were invited from Muslims alone. The glaring truth is that Kashmiri Pandits are being excluded from service because they are Kashmiri Pandits.

We have said above that the most responsible offices in the State should be given to the best available men, not excluding Englishmen and Lent officers, but we cannot help observing that Kashmiri Pandits have not even been considered for those high posts which have been recently or are even now in the hands of State-Subjects belonging to different other communities in the State. Even Sir Albion Bannerjee, whose oft-quoted statement has been exploited so successfully to our detriment, could not help remarking

that Kashmiri Pandits are a "depressed class". It will be admitted by all that a community, whose political importance in the past history of Kashmir is unquestionable, and which has given to India her best politicians, is not receiving its due in its own home. Our fault is that without any special facilities we received higher education, beating the other communities in the race. Although our population is small, 60 to 75 per cent of those in the State who have received or are receiving higher education belong to our community. With this inherent sin of being Kashmiri Pandits, we cannot expect to get even petty clerkships, which we are told, must be conferred not on grounds of efficiency but on grounds of communalism. Without other resources to draw upon, Kashmiri Pandits have been left wondering how to keep body and soul together. During recent years, this vicious policy of making appointments on communal grounds, has operated against our interests alone. And unless a miracle happens in this age—notorious for its absence of miracles—there is absolutely no hope for our younger generation, which believes in the dignity of labour, to earn honest livelihood in the State. We do not want to tire Your Highness by giving examples, but the appendices IV, IV (a), V and V (a) of the Statement presented to the Riots Enquiry Committee, a copy of which is herewith submitted, which could be supplemented by similar statements relating to other non-Muslim communities, will speak for themselves. We, however, wish to point out the case of a Kashmiri Pandit First Class First M.A. in English who was refused the post of a lecturer in English in the Prince of Wales College, which was conferred on a Second Class Mohammedan M.A. in Philosophy, a thing which would not be possible in any College outside Kashmir. The same gentleman was on a previous occasion passed over to make room for a Third Class Mohammedan M.A. in English. Several others of our First Class M A's have been treated in a similar manner. Such things must be stopped at once. Our community will feel reassured by Your Highness' issuing orders that all such preferences must become a thing of the past. We also pray to Your Highness to be pleased to publicly announce that our community will not any more be placed under any disability in the matter of employment, in the

State. We respectfully beg to submit that in such matters quibbling formulas do not at all serve any useful purpose. We do not claim any special rights. We do not ask for preference in any matter on the ground that we are a minority. We want fair field and no favour in the matter of grant of service.

6. There can be no reason for the exclusion of Kashmiri Pandits from the Army. Even at present, Kashmiri Pandits hold high military ranks in British India and several States. We do not want to refer to old times, but the history of Kashmir during the times of the Afghans and the Sikhs furnishes examples of epic courage displayed by scions of Kashmiri Pandit families. In Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army, many Kashmiri Pandits held high command and distinguished themselves in various battles against the Afghans. In several battles in the State, Kashmiri Pandits fought and scored victories. Skardu and Muzaffarabad were once conquered by a Kashmiri Pandit, Ganesh Pandit Dar. They played an important part in the conquest of the frontiers and their consolidation. How Kashmiri Pandits helped not only in the creation but also in the building of the State needs no detailed description. But for the supreme sacrifice and courage of Pandit Birbal Dar and Mirza Pandit Dar, the history of Kashmir might have been differently written. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to expect that the doors of military service will be thrown open to our community in the very near future.

7. The problem of providing employment for the unemployed is greater than that of removing the disability which has been put on our community. The question of mass unemployment can be solved by the State and the State alone. It is the duty of the State to provide a living wage for every adult male willing to work. More than that, the best interests of the State lie in this that educated men are not given cause for disaffection against the administration. It is notorious that discontented B.A.'s feed revolutionary forces. When we say this, Your Highness, we are pointing out a danger which we shudder to contemplate and which all well-wishers of the State should be anxious to avert. It is not for us to suggest a scheme for the relief of unemployment, but a country with the natural wealth

and physical advantages of Kashmir, must provide employment not for one thousand but for thousands of educated men.

The Government has not so far shown a real appreciation of the problem. Both the sympathy and efficiency so necessary for the solution of this problem have been wanting. This calls for change. As many Kashmiri Pandit families as possible should be encouraged to take to agriculture by liberal grants of land. All the existing restrictions in the sale, mortgage and transfer of agricultural land in favour of Kashmiri Pandits should be removed. Special scholarships have been granted to all the communities other than Kashmiri Pandits for general education. On the same principle special facilities should be provided for Kashmiri Pandits to encourage them in the fields of agriculture, industry, arts and craftsmanship. The only community in the State which is not classed as backward is our community, obviously because we are the most educated and our occupation has mainly been, owing to circumstances which are the creation of history, Government service. For these reasons, however, we are economically worse off than other communities. We also claim to be a "backward community" so far as really productive professions are concerned. To give us encouragement in such spheres, special facilities are necessary. But even these measures will not mitigate unemployment in our community to any appreciable extent. The removal of the present disabilities under which our educated men have been put is essential, but even that will not remove the difficulty. A brisk industrial programme without further loss of time is urgently needed.

8. In the end we beg to submit that for a settlement of the constitutional issues arising from the demands submitted by different communities, a Joint Free Conference of officials and non-official representatives of the communities is necessary. All communities should be given equal opportunity to present their case. We regret to have to submit that during the past, important decisions detrimental to our interests, have been taken by the Government behind our back. The Conference, we are proposing, will examine the outstanding issues in all aspects and also take into account all pertinent matters including the future of Indian States in general as finally evolved at the Round

Table Conference, the peculiar strategic position of the State, and the existing state of affairs obtaining in different States.

To sum up, our community's demands are:

- (a) The machinery of administration in the State should be remodelled to serve the purposes of modern government. Jobbery and nepotism should be ended. Positions of the highest responsibility should be given to men of tried worth, Indians or Englishmen. The efficiency of administration should be maintained at the highest standard. A resolute Government is our first demand.
- (b) Proper arrangements should be made for the protection of law-abiding citizens, their property, their homes and their places of worship against attacks, loot, arson and incendiarism. Kashmiri Pandits should be provided with fire-arms, where necessary. Special arrangements should be made for the protection of Kashmiri Pandits in the Muffasils.
- (c) We are for the principle of a fair field for all and no favour for any. All discrimination against our community should be stopped. The practice of passing over the claims of highly qualified Kashmiri Pandits and giving preferences to men of indifferent merit belonging to other communities should become a thing of the past. The recommendation for giving preference to Mohammadan Matriculates over Hindu Graduates should be repudiated. As all other communities have been given special facilities to induce them to take to literary pursuits, our community should be provided with similar facilities for agriculture, commerce and industry.
- (d) The problem of educated unemployment should be seriously tackled not only in the interests of our community but also in the interests of the State. Recent orders of penny-wise and pound-foolish retrenchment which have mainly affected our community, should be withdrawn. Retrenchment should, in the first instance, aim at stopping wasteful expenditure and begin with highly paid services. As many Kashmiri Pandit famili-

ies as possible should be encouraged to take to agriculture. All restrictions on the sale, mortgage and transfer of agriculture land in favour of Kashmiri Pandits should be removed. A brisk industrial programme should be launched forth at once.

- (e) Communalism should not be introduced in the body politic in any form. No statutory recognition should be given to communal majorities and minorities.
- (f) The Military Department should be thrown open to Kashmiri Pandits.
- (g) Subject to the above conditions, our community is for the establishment of a system of government on constitutional lines. We are for a legislature which is free from all taint of communalism. We, however, reserve to ourselves the right of making concrete proposals on constitutional reform at the proper time. We are for free press and free platform, but licence must be mercilessly put down. In our opinion the Government can at no time deal too strongly with those who preach hatred between different classes of Your Highness' subjects.
- (h) To deal with all constitutional issues arising from the demands of various communities and to recommend a scheme of reforms, a Joint Free Conference should be instituted which will take into account the future of Indian States in general, the peculiar strategic position of Kashmir, and the existing condition of affairs in different Indian States. Equal opportunity should be provided to all communities to present their points of view.

We beg to remain,
Your Highness'

Srinagar,
24th Oct., 1931. Most loyal and obedient subjects

1. Pt. JIA LAL KILAM, B.A., L.L.B.
Vakil High Court & Municipal Commissioner.
2. Pt. JANARDHAN TENG, M.A., L.L.B.
Vakil High Court.

3. **Pt. PREM NATH BAZAZ, B.A.**
President, Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Assocn.
4. **Pt. KASHYAP BANDHU,**
Vidhya Vachaspati.
5. **Pt. DAMODHAR BHAT, B.A.**
Secretary, Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Assocn.

Appendix F

Letter from Dr. B. S. Moonji to J. B. Galancy.

New Delhi,
9th March, 1932.

J. B. Galancy, Esq, CIE,
Special—to H. H. the roof
of J & K, (Jammu Tawi).

Dear Sir,

I learnt that there is some unfortunate misunderstanding in regard to a part work of your Commission which, it is said, is to deal with the personal, social and religious laws of the Hindus in accordance with the Moslem Demands which are said to be as follows:

- (a) that (that) Hindu who is converted to Islam should forfeit his right to his ancestral property, and
- (b) that the Muslim should have right to use sacred place of Hindu religious pilgrimages.

I can not imagine that the social and religious personal rights of the Hindus are to be affected in any way whatever enquiries

your commission is intended for. There is no need to make special mention here that these points concern the entire Hindu society of India and not only the local Hindus of the Kashmir State.

If a need for a personal discussion in the matter is felt for removing the misunderstanding and for trying to bring round the Hindus to see the question in its proper perspective, I shall be at your disposal whenever required.

Yours faithfully,
S. B. Moonji.

Appendix G

Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Association Kashmir Srinagar

No. 2797

Dated, Srinagar, the 25th February, 1933.

Respected Sir,

On behalf of the Kashmiri Pandit community I beg to submit as follows:—

Your goodself is well aware of the facts that led to the inauguration of an Enquiry Commission known as Galancy Commission, and also of its recommendations. I need hardly add that the opinion of all independently thinking people is that the Report of the Commission is a most one-sided document designed to help only one community without paying any attention to the needs and requirements of other communities, particularly the Kashmir Pandit Community. The result of the recommendations is that since future recruitment has been stopped for the Kashmiri Pandits, within a short period of fifteen years they must vacate all seats that they now occupy in Government services, leaving them no corresponding means of livelihood to fall back.

Nor need I recapitulate the unfortunate events engineered by some misguided officials, that led to an agitation on behalf of the Kashmiri Pandit Community against the promulgation of the recommendations of the Commission although prior to the

starting of the agitation, our Prime Minister Col. Colvin was pleased to give us an assurance that all possible steps would be taken "in order to remove any hardships that may have entailed upon Kashmiri Pandits as a result of the recommendations of the Commission and was also pleased to state that special facilities would be provided by way of technical scholarships, grants of Government land, and by giving a fair share of Government contracts which could enable the Kashmiri Pandits to tide over the period of transition".

When the agitation was in full swing at the instance of some of our well-wishers, negotiations came to be started with the Government which led to the representation of a Memorial on our behalf to which an answer was given to us while we were in jail. In its answer the Government reassured us of its goodwill and informed us that the assurance given to us by the Prime Minister would stand provided we approached the whole question in a constitutional manner and not only promised us of a sympathetic consideration of all our submissions but assured us that "active steps as may be found practicable would be taken at an early date to assist our community to improve its lot by all legitimate means". The result of all this was that we were released from the jail and later on submitted a detailed memorial to the Government which has now been answered. In our memorial we laid much stress on the following:

- (1) To relieve us of our economic distress by providing means of occupation for a large number of educated but unemployed young men, loans be advanced to them on adequate security to encourage them in setting up small and large scale industries.
- (2) That a number of scholarships be specially earmarked and made available for Kashmiri Pandit students taking their training in the Technical Schools, Factories and Workshops, both in and outside the State including Foreign countries.

In this connection it may be submitted that for the last two decades or more Muslims and Rajputs have been enjoying close scholarships to the tune of thousands of rupees, and Sikhs and depressed classes have also been for some

time past enjoying the same to help them out of their backwardness in matters of education. If special scholarships are needed to help backward communities in matters educational, certainly no community could seem to have a better claim than ours to "closed technical scholarships" when it is borne in mind that our representation in productive occupations is almost nil.

- (3) While we are not against any measures designed to protect agriculturists and villagers, what we wanted was that no ban whatsoever should be placed against our taking to agricultural pursuits and acquiring lands by all lawful means.
- (4) To cope with the increasing educated unemployment in our community, the State should launch forth a definite scheme for diverting our youngmen towards agricultural or horticultural pursuits and for this purpose should grant lands to them. Needless to say that such experiments have been tried elsewhere. We had appended an illustrative list of such waste lands as could be utilized for this purpose.
- (5) "Although several of our educated youngmen had made honest efforts to take to such pursuits, Government contracts did rarely benefit our community. If special facilities such as minimum qualifications could be prescribed for recruitment to the Government services in order to facilitate the entry of other communities, Kashmiri Pandits were also entitled to similar facilities being granted to them in the matter of securing Government Contracts". The answer given to this point is quite unintelligible. What we prayed for was that if two State Subjects gave their tender for one and the same contract, if one was a Kashmiri Pandit, all things taken together the Kashmiri Pandit should be given preference. But this has been brushed aside by making reference to non-State-Subjects—an issue never raised by us.
- (6) "That Hindi should be the medium of instruction for Hindu girls without any qualifications or conditions precedent whatsoever and that religious instructions should be provided in all schools under State control frequent-

ed by Hindu girls". In this connection it may be submitted that Mullas have been provided in every school for imparting religious instructions to Muslim boys.

- (7) Adequate protection should be given to our religion, life and property and our holy places be returned to us for which a demand was made by us.

Although we are of the firm belief that merit and competition should in no case be dispensed with, while making appointments to Government posts, yet we did not press it too far simply to avoid any misunderstanding that might have cropped up on this score that Kashmiri Pandits are averse to Muslims entering Government service, who it is said, cannot on account of their backwardness in education compete with the advanced community of Kashmiri Pandits. It may be remarked herein that Kashmiri Pandits know it full well that the only safeguard for minority is its capacity to stand in competition with other communities, which however is denied to us.

The answer given by the Government to our memorial is appended herewith. It is most unsympathetic reply that could be expected of a Government which was never tired of waxing eloquent in giving us assurances of sympathy and goodwill. Six thousand Kashmiri Pandits are at present moment without employment. It may not however be supposed that we on our part are sitting idle in the direction of removing unemployment. Most of our youngmen have already taken to industrial pursuits. Our Association (Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Association) also owns big national concern known as National Supplies Syndicate, a Printing Press and a Daily Newspaper and has about a hundred paid servants. Besides, it patronises a number of private business concerns. All we want is Government encouragement since we are painfully aware of the fact that mass unemployment can be solved by the State and State alone. Within a short period of seven or eight months we could not be expected to have done more. Administrative wisdom demanded that some vocation should have been found for this ever-increasing large number.

We are hopeless about our future. We look to you for your guidance and help. More than seventy thousand Kashmiri Pan-

ditions are on the verge of starvation. Within fifteen years all who are now in employment must have been ousted from office by retrenchments and retirements. We are in a helpless position and it has been our misfortune to be misunderstood even by those who would if they knew the real state of facts willingly afford us help and guidance. But we are sure that you will kindly extend to us your help and guidance which we need most at the present juncture.

Our relations with our Muslim brethren are of a most cordial nature. While they are not going to yield in the matter of recruitment to Government services so as to replace minimum qualification test by a competition test, but of other points raised by us in our memorial they are taking a sympathetic view. They have come to realise that even under a Muslim Government provision was to have been made for saving us from starvation. The memorial does not at all raise a Hindu Muslim issue. We earnestly wait for your help and guidance as also for reply. We know that you have to attend to manifold activities and engagements, but we hope that you will find time to ease us out of the difficult position which circumstances beyond our control have placed on us.

Yours obediently,

Jia Lal Kilam,
B.A., LL.B.

Vakil High Court and
Municipal Commissioner,
President, Sanatan Dharma
Youngmen's Association;
and

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru,
Allahabad,
President, Jammu & Kashmir
Kashmiri Pandits Political
Conference.

Appendix H

REGULATION I OF 1991 SAMVAT

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Whereas it is my declared intention to provide for the association of my subjects in the matter of legislation and administration of the State, I hereby promulgate the following Regulations:

1. This Regulation may be styled the Jammu and Kashmir Regulation No. 1 of 1991 and it shall come into force on 7th Baisakhi 1991.

2. In this Regulation unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context:

“His Highness” means His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir.

“State” means State of Jammu and Kashmir.

“Council” means the Council of Ministers of Jammu and Kashmir hereinafter referred to.

“Assembly” means the Legislative Assembly of the State constituted under this Regulation.

“Official” and “Non-official” means respectively a person who is or who is not in the Civil or Military Service of the State provided that rules under this Regulation may provide for the holders of such offices or any of them as may be speci-

fied in the rules not being treated for purposes of this Regulation as officials.

3. All powers, legislative, executive and judicial in relation to the State and its Govt. are hereby declared to be and to have been always inherent in and possessed and retained by His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and nothing contained in this Regulation shall affect or be deemed to have affected the right and prerogative of His Highness to make and pass Regulations, Proclamations and Ordinances by virtue of his inherent authority.

4. The Govt. of the State shall be conducted in the name of His Highness and all powers and authority under this Regulation shall be exercised by and in the name of His Highness.

5. The Council of Ministers of the State shall comprise the Prime Minister for the time being and such other Ministers of the State as His Highness may appoint. The Prime Minister, who shall be the President of the Council and the other Ministers shall hold office during His Highness' pleasure.

6. Subject always to the provisions of Section 3 and the exercise in his discretion of the powers and authority inherent as aforesaid in His Highness and subject also to such rules of business and allocation of portfolios and such other directions as to consultations with or reports to and confirmation by His Highness on specified matters as His Highness may give from time to time by general or special orders in that behalf, the superintendence, direction and control on the Civil Administration and Government of the State shall be vested in the Council.

7. The following subjects shall be deemed to be reserved from this Regulation and it shall not be lawful for the Council or the Assembly to consider, deal with or enact any measure relating to or affecting:

- (a) His Highness or any Member of the Royal Family or the management of their Household;
- (b) Relations, Treaties, Conventions or Agreements between the State and His Majesty the Kind Emperor of India or with Foreign powers or the Government of any

State in India now subsisting or in force or hereafter to be established or made;

- (c) Matters concerning the Gilgit and Ladakh Frontiers;
- (d) Rights specifically granted to Ilaqadars or Jagirdars by their Sanads;
- (e) The organization, discipline and control of the State Army;
- (f) The State Departments now under the charge of the Minister-in-Waiting on His Highness and specified in the Schedule hereto (Schedule I);
- (g) The Dharmarth Department; and
- (h) The provisions of this Regulation and the Rules thereunder and their repeal or modification.

8. The Council, with the previous consent of His Highness and subject to the provisions of Section 6, may make rules for the conduct of executive business and may, in default of any directions given by His Highness provided that the authority of the Council may be delegated to a Minister in respect of any subject or class of subjects.

9. All rules and orders issued prior to the enactment of this Regulation shall remain in force excepting in so far as they are amended or repealed by this Regulation.

10. The Legislature of the State shall consist of:-

- (a) The Council; and
- (b) The Assembly;

and subject to the provisions of Section 7, no legislative measure shall be deemed to have been passed unless it has been passed by the Council of the Assembly under the provisions hereinafter set out and have received the assent of His Highness.

11. The Council may provide by Regulation for any matter concerning the Public Debt or the Public Revenue of the State including the imposition of any charge thereon or the maintenance, alteration or imposition of any tax or duty.

12. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Regulation, the Council may in cases of emergency or where immediate legislation is required in any matter affecting the peace and good

Government of the State, submit to His Highness an Ordinance and such Ordinance on being assented to by His Highness shall have the force of law for a period not exceeding six months from the date of promulgation.

13. Subject to the provisions herein contained the Assembly shall have power to make Regulations for all persons, for all Courts and for all places and things within the State.

14. The Assembly shall consist of Members nominated or elected under the provisions of this Regulation and of the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly Electoral Regulations, issued under His Highness command by endorsement No. P.B. 157 of 5th March, 1934. The total numbers of non-elected Members shall be 42 and shall include the Ministers for the time being and officials nominated by virtue of their office and 16 State Councillors summoned by name by His Highness for the constituencies and communities specified in the attached schedule (Schedule II). The number of officials nominated by virtue of their office shall not exceed 12 including the Ministers. The number of elected Members shall be 33 and they shall be elected for the constituencies and from the communities specified in the Jammu and Kashmir Electoral Regulations.

15. The Council may make rules for the following purposes:

- (a) as to the term of office of nominated members of the Assembly and the manner of filling casual vacancies amongst them;
- (b) as to the conditions under which and the manner in which persons may be nominated as Members of the Assembly;
- (c) as to the qualifications of electors, the constitution of constituencies and the method of election for the Assembly and any matter incidental or ancillary thereto;
- (d) as to the qualification for being elected or being nominated as Members of the Assembly;
- (e) as to the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of an election; and
- (f) as to the manner in which such rules should be carried into effect.

16. The Council shall provide by rules under this Regulation for regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the Assembly; for the number of Members required to constitute a quorum and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on and the discussion of any subjects specified in rules.

17. The President of the Assembly shall be appointed by His Highness for such term and on such salary as he may fix and he may remove the President from office and fill casual vacancies in that office from time to time. The President's place during temporary absences shall be taken by such persons as His Highness may direct by general or special order in that behalf.

18. Every Assembly shall continue for three years from its first meeting provided that:

- (a) the Assembly may sooner be dissolved by His Highness;
- (b) such period may be extended by His Highness if in special circumstances he so deems fit; and
- (c) after the dissolution His Highness shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of the dissolution for the next session of the Assembly.

19. There shall be two Sessions of the Assembly in the year as far as possible in the months of October at Srinagar and in March at Jammu and His Highness may also appoint such other times and places for holding any ordinary or special Session as he thinks fit.

20. His Highness may from time to time prorogue the Sessions of the Assembly.

21. Any Session of the Assembly may be adjourned by the person presiding.

22. All questions in the Assembly shall be determined by a majority of votes of the Members present other than the presiding Members who shall have and exercise a casting vote in case of an equality of votes.

23. The powers of the Council or of the Assembly may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy among the Ministers or the Assembly.

24. An official shall not be qualified to be elected as a Member of the Assembly or to be nominated for any of the seats

specified in Schedule II and if an elected Member or a Member nominated for one of such seats accepts office, his seat shall become vacant.

25. The seat of any Member of the Assembly shall become vacant on his being sentenced for an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term of six months or more or on his being interned or externed under the orders of a Magistrate or the Council or His Highness.

26. It shall not be lawful for the Assembly to make, repeal or alter any Regulation referred to in Section 12.

27. It shall not be lawful at any meeting of the Assembly to consider or enact any measure imposing any disability on any community as such.

28. It shall not be lawful, without the previous sanction of His Highness and without the consent in writing of not less than two-thirds of the Members of the Assembly from the community affected, to introduce, consider or enact any measure affecting the religious rights, usages, endowments or personal law of any community.

29. When any bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or any amendment to a bill is moved or proposed to be moved or any resolution is moved or proposed to be moved or any question is proposed to be asked, His Highness may declare that the bill or any clause of it or amendment or the resolution or question affects the safety or tranquillity of the State or any part thereof and may direct that no proceedings shall be taken by the Assembly in relation to the bill or any clause of it or amendment or resolution or question and effect shall be given to such direction.

30. No measure shall be deemed to have been passed by the Assembly until and unless His Highness has signified his assent thereto.

31. Where the Assembly refused leave to introduce or fails to pass in a form recommended by the Council any Regulation, His Highness may declare that the Regulation is essential for the good Government, safety or tranquillity of the State and such measure shall, on the signification of His Highness' assent become a Regulation as if it has been passed by the Assembly.

32. Subject and without prejudice to the provisions herein

contained, His Highness may, where a measure has been passed by the Assembly, return the same for reconsideration by the Assembly.

33. The President shall refuse leave to move a resolution or to ask a question which, in his opinion, affects any matter reserved under the provisions of this Regulation, or which affects the religious rights, usages, endowments or personal law of any community and is not moved or asked by a Member of that community.

34. Standing orders may be made and altered by the Assembly providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in the Assembly. Any standing order which is repugnant to the provisions of this Regulation or to any rules made thereunder shall, to the extent of that repugnancy but not otherwise, be void.

35. Subject to the rules and Standing Orders of the Assembly, there shall be freedom of speech in the Assembly and no person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court of law by reason of his speech or vote in the Assembly or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the Assembly.

36. The Council shall cause a copy of the detailed statement of the estimated annual Revenue and Expenditure of the State and of the Ilaqas exercising Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction to be laid on the table of the Assembly on the first day of the Session to be held in each year in the month of October or any of the subsequent months if a meeting be not held in October. The President shall provide for the meeting of the Assembly on not fewer than seven days for the consideration of the statement after a week from the commencement of the said Session of the Assembly. During the time so provided and subject to the provisions hereinafter contained and to any rules or Standing Orders, any Member of the Assembly may ask question or move a resolution regarding any appropriation of revenue or moneys proposed in the statements or regarding the form in which the statement is laid on the table.

37. If such a resolution is supported by a majority of votes, the President shall, before the Budget is passed, declare what action, if any, the Council will take on the resolution.

38. Before any new tax or duty is imposed or the rate of any

existing tax or duty is altered by any Ordinance, Regulation or rule under this Regulation, the Council shall cause a copy of such Regulation, Ordinance or rule to be supplied to each Member of the Assembly and the President shall allot a day or days for the consideration of such proposals in the Assembly and any Member may then move any resolution on the proposals or ask any question regarding them and such tax or duty shall not be imposed or altered until the Council has taken into consideration any resolution regarding it which may have been passed by a majority of votes in the Assembly.

39. The following matters shall not be open for discussion and no resolution may be moved or question asked in respect of these at the time when the said statement is under consideration:

- (a) expenditure on matters reserved from the cognizance of the Assembly under Section 7;
- (b) expenditure which is obligatory under any law;
- (c) pensions and gratuities granted by His Highness or with his sanction or under the rules sanctioned by His Highness;
- (d) interest on loans and sinking fund charges; and
- (e) expenditure which may be classed by His Highness or the Council as political.

40. If any question arises whether any proposed appropriation of revenue or moneys does or does not relate to any matter not liable to be voted upon by the Assembly, the decision of the President shall be final.

41. No proposal shall be made or resolution moved for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for any purpose excepting by and on the recommendation of the Council.

42. It shall not be lawful for any Member to introduce in the Assembly, without the previous sanction of the Council, any measure affecting the public revenues of the State or imposing any charge on such revenues.

43. Where any Ordinance has been passed under Section 12 of this Regulation, the Council shall cause a copy of it to be delivered to such Member of the Assembly.

44. If any dispute arises as to the interpretation or the carry-

ing out of any of the provisions of this Regulation or the rules made thereunder, the decision of the Council, subject to the provisions of Section 3, shall be final.

45. Communication by His Highness to the Assembly may be made (a) in person, (b) by message sent through the Prime Minister, or (c) by the President or other person presiding under provisions of Section 17.

46. Every person who is elected or nominated to be a Member of the Assembly shall before taking his seat make at a meeting of the Assembly, an oath of his allegiance to His Highness in the following form, namely:

I, have been elected/nominated a Member of this Assembly do solemnity swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Maharaja Harisingh Ji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Inglishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., of Jammu and Kashmir his heirs and successors and that I will faithfully discharge the duty upon which I am about to enter.

Every person who is appointed to be Member of the Council shall before entering on his office make the oath of allegiance in the same form.

SCHEDULE I

(See Section 7(f)).

The State departments under the Minister-in-Waiting and now styled as:

1. Ceremonial, Toshakhana and State Garage.
2. Place Guards and State Stables.
3. Palaces.
4. Reception.
5. Shikarkhana.

Provided that His Highness may at any time re-name or reclassify any of the items now included in the departments so styled.

SCHEDULE II

(SEE Section 14)

Constituencies for which Members shall be nominated.

<i>Number of members</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Community</i>
To be nominated by His Highness		
2	Ladakh Wazarat	Buddhist.
1	Skardu Tehsil	Muslim.
1	Kargil Tehsil	Muslim.
1	Gilgit Wazarat	Muslim.
1	North Kashmir Wazarat	Muslim.
1	South Kashmir Wazarat	Muslim.
1	Muzafarabad Wazarat	Muslim.
1	Jammu Wazarat	Hindu (Megh).
1	Udhampur Wazarat	Hindu (Megh).
1	Srinagar City	Hindu other than Kashmiri Pandit.
1	Wazarats Jammu, Udhampur, Sikh Reasi, Kathua, Kashmir South and Sri Pratap- singhpura Tehsil	
II. To be nominated by His Highness on the recommendation of the Ilaqadar of Poonch:		
1	Ilaqa Poonch	Hindu

**III. To be nominated by His Highness on the
recommendation of Ilaqadar of Chenani:**

1	Ilaqa Chenani	Hindu.
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**(Sd/-)
HARI SINGH
MAHARAJA.**

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